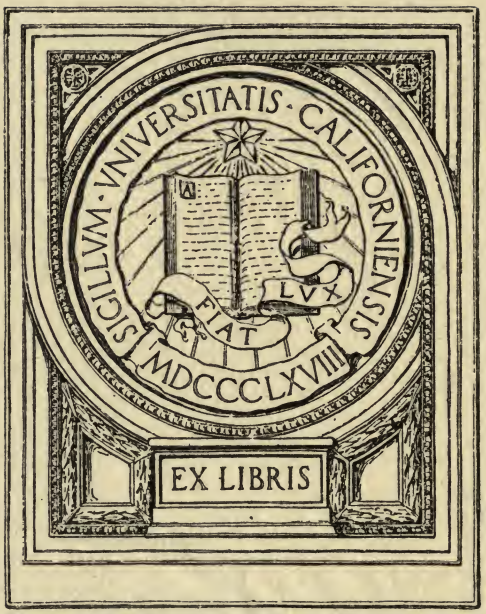
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WHAT IS EDUCATION?

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WHAT IS EDUCATION?

BY

STANLEY LEATHES, C.B., M.A.

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TO

MY MOTHER

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PREFACE

It is written that there was once an undergraduate named Simkins who wearied his acquaintances with such questions as these—"Why were we born? Whither are we tending? Have we innate conceptions?"—until they said when they spied him in the offing: "Why was Simkins born? Is he tending hither? Has he an innate conception that he is a bore?" In asking—What is Education?—I may appear to imitate Simkins. Is there not an *Educational Supplement* of the *Times?* Is there not an Educational Section of the British Association? Are there not educational series and educational experts? Is there not a great educational enthusiasm, a great educational discontent? Then, how can there be any doubt as to what education may be? Yet—at the risk of sharing Simkins' fate—I have been impelled to ask this question and to answer it as best I could; and, having answered it, to consider some of the ends which public, purposeful education should serve: in the elementary school and after, in the secondary school, and at the University.

The results of education have been reviewed and found wanting by Principal Griffiths, in an address

to the British Association. With many of his conclusions I agree, but he appears to attribute our disappointments wholly or mainly to defects in the system or the teachers. I lay much of the blame elsewhere. The results of education depend chiefly upon six factors: the capacities of the children when born, the influence of the parents, the material environment, the formative pressure of society, the system of public education, and the teachers. Deliberate, purposeful, public education can in course of time do something indirectly to modify parents, environment, society; but at any moment these and the raw material are beyond our power to alter; public education is largely devised to remedy the consequences of their defects. The problem of education is therefore as extensive as the whole problem of society, and cannot, except for purposes of limited discussion, be treated as if only the system and the teachers were concerned. The moment any question of practice arises some or all of the other four must be taken into account.

No system can be so good as that which in the sapience of our seclusion or our debates we may comfortably imagine. Put supernal wisdom to direct the policy of the Board of Education; yet that wisdom would have to filter through the channel of official communications and official machinery before it could begin—flat and diluted—to influence local authorities and the people who teach. Centralised wisdom is useful; but education is not carried on in Whitehall; it is carried on in the home and the school. To command an

army you have to give the right orders and ensure that they are obeyed; to govern education by giving orders from a central office would be disastrous. The local authorities may not see so clearly as Principal Griffiths, but they are as good as the society which elects them knows how to procure. Invent the best, the most varied, the most elastic courses of study; equip them with all appliances that heart can desire; you will still be at the mercy of social influences. Lengthen the period of compulsion, and you have to reckon with the nature of the educands, most of whom, as Principal Griffiths observes, are not fitted to profit much by academic instruction. Shorten the period of compulsion, and you appoint the world as school-master, a harsh and careless pedagogue. Every practical problem appears insoluble when stated in words; every practical problem can be somehow solved, with time, thought, experience, good will, and perseverance. I see no ground for despondency; forty years is a short time in the history of a nation. The effects of public education are cumulative; in a sense every generation starts where the last left off.

It is comforting to observe that some of the remedial principles propounded by Principal Griffiths have already been adopted. He suggests that we should work for character rather than learning; that the natural desire for knowledge should be stimulated, whereas it is too often extinguished by teaching; that the Board of Education should not impose uniformity. All these principles have been accepted: it is easier

to state them than to carry them into execution. He praises the Boy Scout movement; it deserves all praise; but would it be possible without the preliminary training of elementary schools, would it be possible but for its voluntary and selective character?

My own observations fall into two classes. On points where I have practical knowledge I have intimated conclusions closely bearing upon practice, but those conclusions, if accepted, must pass through other minds before they can be carried into effect. The detailed execution of a single idea cannot be set down in words; if a practical man conceives or adopts an idea, he will know how to adapt it to his own circumstances. On matters where I have not first-hand knowledge, I have endeavoured to indicate ends; I have not presumed to suggest means. I consider thought to be useful; but I do not confuse theory with practice; if you have got the right principles you have made a good beginning, but that is all. Principles must mature into a spirit, a tradition. In that spirit, by that tradition, men must work. Views on education may appear chaotic; but I believe a body of sound practical doctrine is taking shape. I am thankful to believe that much of what I have said is fully accepted doctrine; certain applications which may be new appear to follow from accepted doctrine.

There is still much to criticise: too much teaching, too little result; too much learning, too little knowledge. But I hope I have said nothing that can seem to depreciate the devoted work of

elementary school teachers, without whose unsparing efforts public compulsory education would be naught.

For brevity, for convenience, I have spoken as if there was only one sex—the male. Almost all my observations apply also to women and girls, to schoolmistresses as well as to schoolmasters. But I must not be taken as accepting the view that the education of girls and women should be identical with the education of boys and men. Even in things of the mind I believe there is a sex difference. But I have not attempted to set forth the special ends of feminine education. I recognise my limitations as a male.

I thank the proprietors of the *Times* for their courteous permission to reprint Chapters IV, V, and VI, which appeared in their *Educational Supplement*. The chapter on English is to be issued as a leaflet by the English Association. Part of the first chapter was included in an address to the Parents' National Educational Union, and printed with their *Proceedings*.

STANLEY LEATHES.

London,
September, 1913.

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CHAPTER I

WHAT IS EDUCATION?

FORTY years have passed since Forster led us out of Egypt; and where is the promised land? Nearer, we trust; though not ready for immediate possession. We are told of a new policy, of a national system of education; no doubt a new policy is needed, and could now be framed; but it is not the purpose of this treatise to define a policy. Policies must be framed by those who are responsible for their execution; they must, however, be expressed in words before they can be achieved. Education is an ambiguous term, of which we shall hear more and more, till we get education right; it is not inopportune to enquire what education is, where it begins and ends, and what part of it can be controlled by public policy.

The Latin word, *educare*, means to bring up, to rear, to foster. In Latin a wet-nurse educates a baby, the sea educates a fish, the earth educates a beast, the air educates a bird, the rain educates a flower. Language has a sense of ancestry; it does not repudiate its origins. The Latin sense is still the true sense. The term education may

be narrowed in its common usage, but it draws dignity from its wider meaning. Education (in the full sense) is the process by which an individual is adjusted to his whole ambit of existence; the whole being is the subject of education; and the whole of life is its end. As the living soul pursues its orderly development external forces starve or nourish, invigorate or cramp, distort or favour, the ductile and expansive growth. Studies supply food and exercise; they are the material, the apparatus of education, not itself.

In whatever circumstances the individual may be reared he will get an education. His parents will mould him for good or evil; the air he breathes, the light that falls upon him, the food he eats, the pursuits he follows, will each have a share in his making or marring. His fellows will school him; his elders will discipline him; life and his world will teach him. The whole tradition of the society into which he is born will leave its mark upon his being. The street arab has his education, as the Balliol scholar his; neither is perfectly trained for the world in which he will have to live; but each acquires aptitudes for his own sphere.

There is thus a large part of education, and that not the least important, which public policy cannot control. The State can do little to direct, though it can do something to restrain, or inhibit, the action of the parents; the State cannot alter the ways of children when they meet together; the State cannot impose new

methods upon industry; the State cannot change the tradition of the people, which grows from generation to generation, intolerant of direct command, expressive of the common spirit. From birth to death education will proceed, with or without state systems. State systems will succeed if they adapt themselves to the surrounding life, if they work with it rather than against it, utilising the benignant elements to defeat the malign.

During the first years of life, the parents, with the traditions that they inherit, are the principal force in education. Towards the formation of character, the first five years after birth are of paramount importance. Moreover, the parents have the earliest and the best chances; the schoolmaster follows after to remedy parental error, to make good parental neglect. On the parents public policy cannot work directly; but the children whom we educate will become parents in their turn. In this way, as in others, we are still gathering the fruits of thirty years ago; and our grandchildren will endure the regimen prepared by us.

After the schoolmaster has received the child parental education continues to operate, if only by defect; if there be wisdom the school and the home should work in cordial alliance. No technical training, no professional zeal, can replace the understanding, the patience, the hopefulness of parental love, rejoicing with the growth of the child, triumphing with its successes, bringing courage to its failures. The child that

has a good home will receive fuller recognition as an individual than any school can give. Throughout the years of tutelage school and home share responsibility; for failures the school alone cannot be fairly blamed—even apart from those caused by original sin.

But, as things are, for the great majority the school education from five or so to thirteen or fourteen is the only thoughtful and systematic education provided. The parents may be willing but they are seldom wise; the schoolmaster also is but a man, yet the craft of his trade assists him to redress parental shortcomings. The State has come by insensible degrees to take, through the schoolmaster, more and more care for the growing generation. The need for instruction was earliest perceived; first by the Churches, then by the State. So important was instruction at that time, so signal its defect, that it usurped the name of education; we still speak of education when we mean instruction—the whole for the part. To test the results of the instruction provided, examinations were set up. High marks were taken as an indubitable index of success; few thought of questioning the record; it was even accepted as a basis for state payment, which was called payment by results. But, in every good school, there are by-products which are not shown in the examination table. The body may be trained to health and dexterity, good habits, tastes, and prejudices, may be ingrafted, a love of good work may be created, character may be developed, the citizen

may be fitted for civilised society, the intelligence may be quickened and the understanding may be informed. So long as our minds were fixed solely on instruction, so long as they were dominated by the examination test, these by-products suffered some neglect. But we have now come to value school instruction quite as much for its wholesome discipline as for the information which it imparts; we judge a school by its tone not less than by its examination results. To have been at a good school is a voucher of good training. There has been a change in the spirit by which schools are directed.

Education is a preparation for life. In that preparation society, the whole environment, life itself, are factors which we cannot influence. The home is all-important, but we cannot directly influence the home. The public share in education begins where these moulding forces cease to operate, where they fall short. What the State can do well to equip the young for life, what it can do better than other agencies, what the State can do and other agencies cannot, what it can do to make up for the default of other agencies, that is the public share in education. The inspector judges a school by examination, by the methods and skill of the masters, by the appearance, the tone, the intelligence of the pupils. The business man judges a school by the aptitude of its pupils for commercial and industrial tasks. But the nation should judge its schools by the fitness of their pupils for life, of which business is a part, but only a part. If

our citizens are unfit for the necessary, for the higher, for the highest functions of life, some blame must fall to all of us as citizens, for we all have a share in the result.

The main principles of elementary education have now been mastered, though practice may still lag behind; the blunders of the eighties and the nineties have been shaken off; the State can now move forward cautiously and slowly to build on the foundations established. One great cause of the initial disappointments of elementary education was the lack of a sound theory; another was the lack of a sound tradition; a third was the lack of a trained staff. The advance of the State must still be conditioned by these factors. Higher elementary schools, trade schools, technical schools, extended secondary schooling —all these depend on sound theory, sound tradition, and a skilled staff. The theory, as well as the rest, can only be perfected by experience; the ladder of learning—I would rather say the ladder of education—cannot be perfected in another year, in a decade, in a generation.

Education is a process, purposeful education is an art, but when men speak of education, they are prone to think of buildings, of curricula, of systems. They call up to mind Boards of Managers, three hundred Local Authorities with their inspectors, a Minister at Whitehall, with a thousand clerks and two or three hundred more inspectors, a thumping vote, a heavy rate. They think of subjects, and examinations, and grants,

and salaries, and pensions, and scholarships; a National Union of Teachers, an Incorporated Association of Headmasters. They think of forms to fill up, and schedules, and codes, and rules. But all these things are not education; they are not even part of education; they are administrative machinery. Public education cannot go forward without administrative machinery; but the machinery is not the education.

There is an art of education; it is practised by a teacher on a class, on the several members of a class. An art cannot be reduced to a system; though it can be assisted by a system. A good system is helpful; a bad system is a stumbling-block; but even a good system derives all its virtue from the persons who work it. A tradition counts for more than a system; the tradition shapes and influences the teachers; it works by spirit and not by rule; but in the long run teaching, like other arts, is vested in a living being. The highly trained master may have missed the art; the humble unqualified assistant may possess it.

The art of education requires liberty for its exercise. If it were our sole object to produce masterpieces, we might claim complete liberty for the art. But full liberty of experiment cannot be permitted where human beings are the raw material. Moreover, what is a masterpiece of education? Is it a perfect man, is it a perfect school? Is the perfect school calculated to produce the perfect man, or does the perfect man need more liberty of self-development than the perfect school can allow? And who is the

judge of masterpieces, and by what canons can he judge? The full results of education are not seen for many years; judging only by immediate results we may feel that this batch is better than the last, but the causes of improvement can only be conjectured; they cannot be ascertained by proof. Authoritative experiment is impossible. The same experiment cannot be tried twice on the same class, two different experiments cannot be tried on the same class. For in the interval time has been moving, and the class is no longer the same class; the pupils have grown, and changed in growth.

The art of education is not a science; it has nothing of the science. It must proceed by experience, by common sense, by happy conjecture, by intuitive interpretation of rough observations, by *a priori* reasoning from inexact premisses. It is probable that many various methods would lead to equally good results; but each successful method must have a unity and a harmony of its own, which can be perceived, though it can never be adequately described in words. Some rules, some system, must be laid down by authority, because public money is brought to account, because human beings are under treatment; but a large field must be left to the discretion of the schoolmaster. Rules should be few, systems elastic; guidance, criticism, and consultation may supplement the rules; but the teststone of administration is the choice and training and direction of executants—in education, as elsewhere.

Both as an art and as a part of life, education must not be afraid to harmonise opposites, to face any and every dilemma. The State needs, above all, that the lowest level shall be raised. Education must therefore work to the average; the boy or girl of better parts stands less in need of active instruction than those of inferior gifts. The less nature and the home has done for the scholar, the more the schoolmaster has to do. How great the difference may be, only the experienced schoolmaster can say. On the other hand, the clever boy, the exceptional boy, the boy of genius, must not be sacrificed to the dullards. In class-teaching, while the backward are receiving their due, the gifted may be repressed, kept to monotonous tasks that do not stretch their powers; they may become disgusted with all study, or they may be drilled to lifeless uniformity. To feed the slow, without starving the quick, that is the great dilemma of education; but a practical man is never afraid of a dilemma; if it must be solved, he assumes that it can be solved, and proceeds to solve it. This dilemma must be solved—in school, day by day, and case by case; for, if we need a higher level of general instruction and intelligence, we also need a constant supply of vigour and ability; we must take care that we do not maim a boy or a youth of genius.

Public education has four main sides, physical, moral, intellectual, and spiritual. These four sections are closely interconnected, but they can

in theory, though not in practice, be separated. To the physical side of education I have addressed some observations below. There is much ground to be made up here, and a great harvest to be gathered. Moral education is closely associated with physical and intellectual; it is not neglected, it has perhaps never been neglected in schools. No worthy schoolmaster could find himself before a class, and feel no anxiety for their moral welfare. If moral education has suffered, it has suffered from a too rigorous discipline, from the too absorbing claims of lessons. In any case the what of morals is little in dispute; the how of moral education is above all a question of practical and personal discretion. No sensible person would think of teaching morals to a class by generalities; and the morals of school children require no difficult casuistry. They can learn self-control in their own lives, which is better than academic lessons on the evils of drink. They can learn justice, honour, and mercy in their dealings with their fellows; which is better than much economic precept, theory, and doctrine. The tone of a good home is worth more than any direct moral teaching; and the tone of a good school is the best substitute that can be found; it is also the best support for good parental influence.

The spiritual side of education is difficult beyond all others. It aims at faith rather than dogma, at aspirations rather than a code, at an atmosphere rather than positive instruction. It

has its social aspect which should be seen in the common life of a school; but, if individuality must be studied in every part of education, here it must be approached not only with urgency but with reverence. Though conduct expresses the spiritual condition, works are but the symptom of spiritual health; morality divorced from the spiritual impulse has always been found to miss compelling force, to lack life and vigour. Morals can be taught by reference to self-advantage; they can be justified, though only imperfectly, by an appeal to the intellect; they can be fortified by fostering the love of approbation and the social sense; the love of beauty and fitness is a powerful aid to the teacher; but ultimately sound morality is a healthful condition of the soul. It would be an impertinence to suggest methods to the teacher; if things are right with himself, he will find his own methods, his own avenues of spiritual approach.

Intellectual education is too narrow a term. The intellect, the understanding, the intelligence should be active in all the lesson work of schools. But habit, memory, instinct, receptive observation, acquired dexterity, also enter largely into all scholastic accomplishments. The intelligence should always be awake, to guard against the blunders of routine, to combine, compare, and construct, but it cannot think out every case anew. Much must be taken on authority, much must be acquired by practice, as in all handwork, much must become instinctive by

use, as in learning the native language or another and in the processes of arithmetic, some things must be committed to memory as in geography or chemistry. The intelligence and the memory must work together; neither should be overtaxed.

Here is demanded the supreme exercise of the schoolmaster's discretion. It is for him to say what the memory must do, including in memory practice and use, and what the intelligence must be encouraged to undertake. It is for him to say what tasks the intelligence of each successive age, of every several child, is fit to handle. The development of different sides of the nature differs much in different children. But he must be on his guard against the temptation to work chiefly through the memory, a temptation specially urgent with a large class. Children learn readily by memory, and, by loading the memory, results can be more speedily obtained. It is more difficult to work through the imagination, the intelligence, the understanding, but these are at least equally important; they are the instruments of ultimate success. Again, many things may be taught, many things should be studied, but not all things that should be studied need be remembered. The good memory is the selective memory, which retains what it needs, what it desires, and dismisses the rest. The mind, like the body, is a digestive organ; it requires bulk for its nutriment; it cannot digest all that it receives. Therefore, much should be taught, or otherwise brought to notice; but the scholar should be praised who remembers

the salient and governing points, who grasps the interconnexions.

To take an example of intelligence and memory. The multiplication table must be learnt by heart; it must be repeated till its data come at call without effort. But the multiplication table should also be studied intelligently; the scholars should be encouraged to break up the numbers and combine them afresh; to study their properties and test the assertions of the table. You cannot prove that twice two make four; that is a matter of definition, of the meaning of words. But you can test the definitions of the multiplication table, and show that they are consistent with each other. At what age the memory, at what age the intelligence should do what work, is a question for the schoolmaster. The development differs in each child, but I suspect that intelligence commonly develops earlier than is supposed, and is often atrophied for want of exercise.

The selective memory is wronged when tables of dates are set to be learnt by heart. History begins to be known when much has been heard and forgotten and the salient facts begin to stand out. At this point the order of events begins to show as inevitable. No one who knew anything about the French Revolution and its sequel could suppose that the battle of Waterloo preceded the execution of the French king. When the events begin to take form and order, then knowledge of dates may be exacted. But it is better to know dates by knowing what the

order of events must be, than to know the order of the events by an unmeaning sequence of numbers. I met a distinguished man who told me with satisfaction that he had learnt his dates of English History as a boy by *memoria technica*, and had retained them ever since. I wondered in silence what good they might be to him.

And this leads me to the constructive memory, which is not imagination, nor understanding, nor reasoning, but has something of all three. By the constructive memory learning grows to knowledge. There is one knowledge of the elementary schoolboy, there is another knowledge of the secondary schoolboy, another of the University Honours man, yet another of the man of learning. But each should be built up into a whole; so far as it can be. Each should be a microcosm planned in due proportion and to scale. Each should be a complete edifice; but each should resemble one of those buildings, where the stones are left projecting at the edges for other buildings to be attached. The elementary schoolboy, above all, needs a solid though contracted nucleus of knowledge, coherent, interconnected, and complete in itself; but he also needs avenues by which to advance, capacities and impulses to learn, to go on learning, and to build his further learning into his knowledge.

If you watch a young child with alert intelligence, well taught, encouraged to learn and to ask questions, brought up in an atmosphere of knowledge, you can see the constructive memory at work. You can see the child piecing together

its bits of information, bridging gaps, establishing new lines of communication, preparing a frame-work into which every fresh fact can be fitted as it is acquired. Things new and old are compared and adjusted; often you will be surprised to see how the germane illustration springs from the mind when it is needed. That is the process which should be encouraged at school; unfortunately there are so many for whom school is the only place where it can be encouraged.

For whatever purpose learning be desired, whether for life or for business, it is worth little in itself, but knowledge is worth much. Learning is the mere acquisition of information; when information acquired is rounded to a whole, when it is incorporated in the character, when it illuminates the mind, when it strengthens the understanding, when it fortifies the judgement, when it becomes an instrument to serve rather than a burden to be carried, then learning becomes knowledge.

Learning is a simple thing; it proceeds step by step. You may learn all the words in a dictionary; you may learn all the inflexions of all the words in a language, you may learn all the rules of syntax. Each of those processes is a simple process. But to grasp the whole meaning of the most lucid author, to explain the whole of your own meaning on any subject—that is a very complicated process, involving many simultaneous processes of thought. Again, you may have great learning, say in anatomy, but,

to form any clear conception of the function and meaning of the body, you must go far beyond anatomy, you must go far beyond the separate and consecutive statements in any treatise of physiology, you must have in your mind at one and the same time the functions of the heart, the lungs, the brain, the digestive organs, the nervous system, the muscles, half a hundred things besides. Until you can form such an elaborate conception in your mind you cannot have any true knowledge of the body, as a living, breathing, working organism.

This complexity of life and thought makes language an imperfect instrument for the expression of the mind. You can think of many things at the same time. But you can only speak of one thing at a time. If one person is to understand another, the thing stated must be very simple, or else the hearer must know a great deal more than is said. What the instructor says can never illuminate the mind, unless the mind receives, shapes, and fits together the information provided. Instruction can only proceed by the written or spoken word; the instructor is a hodman with bricks. The pupil is the bricklayer who may, if he has a gift for the craft, combine the bricks into a solid and coherent and symmetrical edifice, with a central hall, staircases, chambers, passages, cellars, and roof gardens. In this work the materials are supplied by books and teachers; but the pupil must do his own construction; the building must be his own; at most a plan, a model, and a few

hints can be given. It is better that construction should go forward all the time, than that the ground should be cumbered with superfluous material.

Compared with the building of knowledge, reasoning is a simple process. You can only follow one line of reasoning at a time. Every matter which is worth understanding at all must be approached by many different trains of reasoning. You can set out, if you have time, all these different trains of reasoning, one after another. But you can only reach your final conclusion by combining all these trains of reasoning into one. And that involves an instinctive process of fitting together, of valuation, of estimation. The power of recognising and estimating values we call judgement. Knowledge informs judgement, but it cannot create it. When knowledge and judgement meet together, we have wisdom. And it is the highest and rarest function of education, aided by and working upon experience, to produce wisdom.

An engineer who is going to build a bridge begins by forming a general concept of the task he has to perform. He then forms particular concepts of all the parts, great and small; he works out all the dimensions, weights, stresses, tensions, strengths; he guesses all the exceptional circumstances that his bridge may have to encounter; he may put down all these things severally in his calculations and specifications, and make drawings of all the parts. But at some time or other, and from time to time, he

must conceive his bridge as a single whole. When he does that, he must have every one of all his minor calculations operative in his mind, though not, perhaps, in his consciousness. If all his parts are right, he has learning; if his bridge is right as a bridge he has knowledge; if he has rightly estimated all the circumstances that cannot be calculated, he has judgement; if his bridge is a good bridge, it testifies to his possession of wisdom, as a bridge-builder.

Now instruction can only proceed by the way of learning. That does not mean that it should proceed solely or mainly by the way of teaching. It is widely recognised nowadays, that what a child or young person can be taught is of little importance compared with that which it can and will teach itself, with the requisite assistance and encouragement. Almost all normal children are born with a lively and keen desire for knowledge. It is our business to foster and develop that natural curiosity, to guide it, and by feeding it to stimulate it. Teaching has far too often the effect of deadening and wearying the impulse to learn. If you can once get a child into the right frame of mind and keep it in that frame of mind it will learn for itself far more than it can ever be taught, and with great advantage both to the mind and to the character.

Schooling, which is a convenient word to indicate both the teaching and the learning of the young, must proceed by subjects. But, if learning is ever to develop into knowledge, the

barriers between subjects should not be allowed to remain rigid and permanent. Knowledge is a whole; it can only for temporary convenience be divided into parts. The two great subjects of instruction may be classified as Science and History. The term History, properly conceived, includes everything that has to do with man as a living and spiritual being. Language is the handmaid of history, the most part of literature is only history made beautiful by imagination and art. Science is a convenient term to include all our knowledge of the material world, and of the material basis of life. Mathematics are the handmaidens of Science. In themselves, no doubt, they afford a valuable mental discipline. But it should always be remembered that, in education at any rate, Mathematics have no fruit, unless their bearing upon the practical things of life is made clear.

It is easy enough to link up Mathematics with Science. In Physics at any rate the connexion is ready-made. Probably nowadays the meaning of Mathematics is made clear to the young. But I remember when I was at school I was invited to perform tricks with algebraical symbols. I liked the game and even attained some trifling proficiency. But it was not till many years afterwards, not indeed until I had forgotten most of the rules of the game, that I understood what algebra really meant. Similarly with geometry. Euclid flattered my growing mind, it was something for my puppy teeth to worry, but I feel sure that I never understood that

geometry was an art invented to facilitate the measuring of the earth's surface. Later on, cos, sin, and tan, used to follow predestined paths, which I was able by rule of thumb to forecast with varying success. It never occurred to me, it was never suggested to me, that cos, sin, and tan, had any bearing on the actual world in which I lived. All this, no doubt, has been mended. But the moral remains. Algebra, geometry, trigonometry, are paths of learning, each of which can be followed without reference to knowledge. But if knowledge is our aim—not learning for its own sake—the relation of each set of observations to the world at large should be indicated on every possible opportunity.

The gap between History and Science is more difficult to fill. But there is one subject of instruction which bridges the gulf. That is Geography. Here Science and History meet. The world is a physical complex, whose various aspects are elucidated by many sciences; such as Geometry, Geology, Physics, Chemistry. The world is also the playground of man; the playground of living man, in his nations, his empires, his competing communities. It has also been the playground of men and nations long since dead. I have never had occasion to teach Geography, as an independent subject. But if I were teaching, say, the Geography of the Balkan Peninsula, I should speak of the relics of Mycenean civilisation, of Minos and his empire, of Athens and Sparta, Thermopylae, Salamis, Alexander; of the Byzantine Empire and its

invaders: of Slavs, Illyrians, Albanians, and all the motley folk who have been, first and last, poured into that ancient bottle. That would not prevent me from talking about coast-lines and harbours, rivers and mountains and watersheds, valleys and islands and plains. Nor would the solid reality of these material features prevent me from peopling my topography with Centaurs, Oreads, Naiads, Pan and old Silenus: nor should I feel that I was detracting from the serious dignity of my task if I spoke of the voyage of Jason and the Argo, of Theseus and the Minotaur, of the siege of Troy and the wanderings of Odysseus. On the contrary, the Balkan mountains, in my thinking, would be invested with greater reality if I spoke of Olympus, the seat of the Gods, and the struggle to heap Pelion upon Ossa. The Dardanelles are the more real because Leander swam across them, because Xerxes bridged them: the Bosporus because Jason threaded it; the position of Thermopylae, Euboea, Athens, and the Isthmus of Corinth, will be fixed in the learner's mind once for all if he understands how and why the battle of Salamis was fought. Geography is the meeting-ground of those two great branches of knowledge which I classify as History and Science—the knowledge of man, and the knowledge of things. I hope that Geography is taught in this way; but I do not feel sure.

This view of the unity of knowledge brings me into conflict with the specialists—not with all

specialists, but with those specialists who have lost sight of knowledge in their enthusiasm for learning. It is inevitable that learned men should lean to specialisation. The friends of education should resist their unfortunate bias, so far as education is concerned. I am wholly in favour of variety in education. I would give all special talents ample room for development. But I would never forget that knowledge is a whole; you cannot without grave sacrifice confine attention only to a part. The specialist who is only a specialist is, for that reason, not so good a specialist. One specialist grumbles because I insist on mathematics; another specialist because I conceive literature and history as needful to a liberal education. After all, the object of education is to make a whole, not a lopsided man. Though a lopsided man may succeed in business, he will not be a success in his own more important personal life. Knowledge is not only a commercial asset; it is a precious and enduring possession, that gives interest to the most trivial task or occurrence.

That knowledge is best worth having which we have built up for ourselves by toil. Such toil it is the fashion to call and to make painful, but I would prefer to see it joyful. Our best work is not painful; it absorbs and enfolds us; it is accompanied by no feeling of effort or labour. We must garner the crop ourselves; but, if our harvest is to be abundant, we must get the seed from those in whom learning has matured into knowledge, and knowledge into wisdom. If we

are pursuing the natural sciences, Nature herself is our mistress; and her wisdom is inexhaustible. But it is fit that the high-priests of Nature should be wise, as well as learned. If it is the knowledge of man that we seek, we must frequent not so much the learned as the wise. The knowledge of man is not attained by treatises, text-books, statistics, card indexes, or encyclopaedias; it is attained by insight working upon knowledge, and the great men are those whose insight is the keenest and most illuminating. It is better to read Thucydides, Herodotus, and Demosthenes than to read Grote; it is better to read Tacitus and Cicero than Mommsen; it is better to read Shakespeare, Bacon, Hobbes, Halifax, Bolingbroke, Burke, Carlyle, Ruskin, than the best of all the excellent text-books which historical science has provided for us. On the other hand, it is better to read Maitland than to read Doomsday Book. The text-books are useful; the original authorities are useful; but the root of the matter is in the minds and the words of the wise men. Whether we study the ancients or the moderns is of little consequence. It is important that we should study them in the right way. And that right way cannot be found unless language, literature, and history are made to contribute to one whole of historical knowledge; and unless that half-whole is amplified, illuminated, explained, by that other half-whole of knowledge, which we call Science.

I have now got beyond the elementary school, beyond the secondary school, even beyond the

University. But, in so far as it is the end of education to produce knowledge, these principles have their bearing upon education at every stage.

There have been friends of education who believed that man could be made perfect by schooling. I do not see how such a belief could survive any practical experience of education or of life. Schooling can only have a limited effect on the majority; it does most for those of regular and orderly talent; on certain wayward and dynamic spirits its influence may be actually bad. Yet I believe that on the whole public education can improve mankind; though its full effect cannot be seen until the third or fourth generation. We are only just beginning to learn how much can be done, not perhaps with the best, nor perhaps with the worst, but with the average.

Public education is still in its infancy. Elementary education has been improved, but far greater improvement is still possible. In secondary education much remains to be done—far short of perfection. The tradition of our Public Schools implants the love of health and honour, but not that of knowledge and beauty. This one-sided tradition the Public Schools share with the nation; in fact it would be difficult to decide whether the schools had educated the nation to thick-skulled self-satisfaction, or the nation had made the schools to suit itself. Yet the love of knowledge and beauty does not exclude the

possession of manly qualities; they cannot truly flourish apart.

The system of the Public Schools does not make up for any shortcomings of their tradition. When the boys learnt nothing but Latin and Greek and Mathematics, their field of culture was compact and many-sided, a complete microcosm. Now subject has been added to subject, specialism to specialism, until unity, comprehension, and harmony are lost to sight.

The new secondary system which it is proposed to create may borrow from the Public Schools their tradition of manliness, strength, and self-government; it will need a new tradition to foster the love of knowledge. This purpose will be aided if admission to such new or enlarged schools is strictly confined to those who have shown fitness and the desire to learn; if those who fail to fulfil their early promise are sternly dismissed. "We teach Latin and Greek," said an Eton Master, "to boys who should be carting muck." A certain class of rich people cannot be prevented from offering pearls to their children; they do not know that they are pearls. "Pearls for the lover of pearls" should be the motto of the new secondary system. This will assist to prevent a too rapid increase of secondary machinery; which is undesirable for lack of competent and well-trained masters. Good secondary schoolmasters are already scarce; you cannot have good schools with bad masters; and bad schools are little better and more expensive than none at all. Moreover, there is no

kindness in encouraging a boy to remain at school when he might be earning his livelihood, unless there is some fair certainty that he will profit by the education; unless he possesses the requisite health, vigour, and character, as well as suitable brains. Extension of secondary schools is good, but it is on all grounds desirable that it should not proceed too fast. A fruit tree that makes too much wood makes little else; the fruit of a national system is not bricks, mortar, salaries, and a curriculum, but a good education; the harvest depends first upon the staff, next upon the fitness of the pupils, greatly also upon the tradition; the system operates upon and through the other three.

The Universities are a public institution; but, so long as they govern themselves tolerably, I should prefer that they were left free. The State has enough to do.

The old Universities have opened their gates; they have admitted the sciences, history, modern languages, to an equality with the ancient studies. But they have not entirely assimilated the new material. Subjects are recognised with profuse liberality, but not the unity of knowledge. On this matter I have said enough below; but I would here point out that the spirit of University study will depend upon the objects that are chiefly in view. If learning and research are the principal aim, high specialisation will result; but learning and research should not be the sole purpose of an University, of whose students a great majority are not fitted and do not desire

to become learned men. If professional preparation is the end of the University, courses will take a more practical form; specialisation will be restricted among the students; and that part of education which fits for business will come into prominence. If education is the chief object of an University, then the unity and interconnexions of knowledge will stand foremost with the framers of any scheme.

The recognition of new studies has been partly due to professional needs, but much more to the love of learned men for their own specialities. The needs of education have suffered a comparative if not a complete neglect. Yet it is quite safe to say that the most part of students come to the University to be prepared for life, not for any branch of learned work, nor for any particular profession. Among professions, one has been strangely overlooked, and that is the teaching profession. A schoolmaster should not be a specialist; his bent should lead him to join up rather than to fence off the several paths of knowledge. Moreover, only a very large school can afford to have separate teachers of history, separate teachers of languages, separate teachers of mathematics, separate teachers of science: none, I think, has hitherto afforded to have separate teachers of English. And yet the university schemes, and especially the examinations for degrees, turn out such specialists by the hundred; not fitted for any profession, not specially fitted for life, and certainly not well-equipped for teaching.

Apart from the needs of the teaching profession—for the civil service, for commerce, for industry, for politics, for the bar, and above all for life (if there be some who can afford to frame their education for life itself) we want, as a rule, men well trained and of wide knowledge, rather than men of learning. For professions such as medicine and engineering a wider basis of knowledge is required than the ordinary university course guarantees. And, if the teaching profession is taken into account, the need for some wider training than most Honour Schools provide appears to me nothing short of overwhelming. This theme I have attempted to develop below.

The newer Universities have the same specialist bent. They suffer from the more imperfect previous preparation of their students; they have to think more about professional ends. But the one professional end for which they do not appear to provide in their ordinary courses is the education of teachers for elementary and secondary schools. The improvement and extension of secondary teaching will benefit the Universities greatly; but a wider university education in modern humanities will do even more to improve the elementary and secondary schools.

I do not believe that learning would suffer from such reforms. The rivalry of subjects loads the examination schedules with unnecessary items, which is bad among other things for learning; if all men of learning recognised a

common duty to education, perhaps some of this rivalry would disappear.

There is one subject of first importance, which has not yet received full separate university recognition—Geography. At present, the friends of Geography seem to be working towards an Honours School in Geography. But would it not be much better for Geography and all allied subjects that Geography should have its full share in the Historical School, in the Science School, and in any school of modern humanities that may be established, than that it should have its own examinations and live on the borderland of Science and History, poaching on both and assisted by neither? However, if Geography gave its name to the new unifying subject, I should not object to that name; though I think History would better serve the purpose.

The unity of knowledge is a great principle; the unity of education is another. Whatever link is weak, from the parent to the Professor, impairs the efficiency of the whole.

Some may say: "The results of education are illusory. They are all implicit in the egg; heredity is everything; if you want to improve mankind, promote the study of Eugenics. Education works only for a generation; Eugenics work for the permanent improvement of the race." Heredity is important, environment is important, who shall say how much is due to either in any particular case, or even upon an average? If heredity is important, tradition is also important,

and education influences tradition. If heredity is the memory of the unconscious mind, tradition is the heredity of the conscious mind. To allot shares to inheritance and education is the more difficult because education and heredity often work together. The child of good parents gets the advantage not only of their blood but of their precept, atmosphere, and example. It is the more difficult because education and heredity sometimes work in opposition. The child who was born to be an engineer is brought up to be a solicitor. It is the more difficult because we often do not know what the operative education of any conspicuous man actually was. We marvel at the spontaneous manifestations of a Giotto, a Shakespeare, a Napoleon; but it may be that the education that each received was the education that suited him best. It is impossible to dissect the grown man and say: this comes by his blood, this by his education.

It is best to put aside men of genius and other exceptions, and sorrowfully admit that, although tradition helps to make them, purposeful education is more likely to hurt them than to help them. If Shakespeare had gone to an elementary school, and thence by the ladder of education to a secondary school, and so to the University, he might have written the works of Francis Bacon, but he would not have written the plays, which speak from first to last of untrammelled development. Shakespeare, like Cobbett, needed no schoolmaster to teach him English. No schoolmaster had any important share in the

making of that mind. A schoolmaster might, perhaps, have spoiled it; no schoolmaster could have improved it. If Shakespeare had not known how to read and write he would have taught himself. If he had not access to books, he would have stolen them, as perhaps he stole the deer. It is lucky he left school when he did, lucky for him, lucky for us, and lucky for the schoolmaster. Drunk with his own learning, he flouts the schoolmaster. Giulio Romano, a beautiful name; what matter when he lived? Aristotle said a fine thing; Hector would have quoted it had he known it; the pace was too good to enquire whether he did. Is it Delphos, or Delphi, or Delos? The schoolmaster may care, not the poet. Bohemia, a romantic place; all romantic places have sea-coasts and bears. What has romance to do with topography?

But, taking ordinary men, for whom schemes of education are devised, it seems probable that the gifts they receive at birth are on an average not greater in importance than the ply that education subsequently gives. Some are less malleable than others, but on the whole mankind is a ductile race. It owes at least its prejudices, its conventions, and a large part of its virtues and its vices, to tradition and imitation. The more stubborn the material, the firmer the impress carried. Where public education is the only purposeful education bestowed, we must make the most of our single opportunity. If public education improved the average by only five per cent., it would repay its cost three times

over, besides making the world a more comfortable place to live in. Moreover, education is a going concern, with prestige, momentum, and goodwill; the future may be with Eugenics; the present is with education.

Education without religion seems to me impossible; the religion of all sensible men, the religion that sensible men do not gratuitously define. In the present state of public opinion education with religion seems equally impossible. This is a practical question and falls to the province of responsible and practical men to solve. It is also one of those practical questions which I am not called upon to handle. I doubt if such problems can be settled on paper.

I began with a question: what is education? Education is a process in which the whole human environment is concerned—a process of preparation for life. That part of preparation for life, whether physical, moral, spiritual, or intellectual, which the State can better undertake than other agencies, belongs to the arts and not to the sciences; though an art may borrow from a science, as from medicine. Education is a whole, and whether the State conclude its training of the children at fourteen, at sixteen, at nineteen, or at twenty-three, the education designed to terminate at each age should aim—in things of the mind—at a coherent nucleus of knowledge, which is capable thereafter of indefinite extension. An art does not profit

greatly from catchwords or maxims; but, if a single catchword is admissible, it would be this: the best teacher is he who best assists the student to teach himself. Education is also a whole in this sense, that parents, teachers, schoolmasters, examiners, professors, administrators, are all working to a common end, and if any fail or be misled the whole cause suffers. To supplement the imperfect definition, I give my little book.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AND BUSINESS

If education is a preparation for life, it must be a preparation for business. For business is the larger part of life, though not perhaps the more important part of life, and certainly not the whole. Education is necessary; it has always existed, it will always exist, though its form may vary from age to age. It is for us to consider what form it should assume to suit our present purposes; our purposes of life, and among those purposes our purposes of business.

There have been saints and sages who contemned business. They might better have attempted to improve it. St. Francis and St. Dominic instituted Orders of poor Friars, who, individually and collectively, were to possess no wealth. But those Orders could not have existed had not inferior orders of men lived and laboured, who gave alms to support the physical being of the poor Friars. Like the orchids, which are rooted in sun and air, the Friars drew their nutriment from faith, hope, and charity; but even an orchid requires some material prop. After a time, business took its moral and material revenge upon the despisers of business. The

Orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic found means to possess property, collectively if not individually, and thus took toll, not only by alms, from the business community. But this defection from their original principle ruined the Orders. They set out to despise business; they ceased to despise it; inevitably, they became the parasites of business; at last, business shook off and destroyed its parasites.

Education, as at present organised, does not profess to be an enemy of business. Indeed, if it has a single, conspicuous fault, it is that it copies, though it can hardly exaggerate, the faults of business. Business creeps near the ground; education often fails to rise above it. Business is constantly concerned with ways and means; education is constantly concerned with machinery; it runs to wood and leaves, and produces the less fruit. Business estimates success by results, as presented in the entries of a ledger, and the pages of a bank-book. Education estimates results by figures in a report or by figures in an examination table. Business minds its own business, and never takes account of the life of the nation as a whole. Education looks at the school, the college, the University, the subject, the standard, the examination, the institution; it seldom rises to a general view. Business grinds the bones of the individual to make its bread; education feeds its victims by fifties, sixties, or seventies, in a well-lighted and well-ventilated cave. Business sacrifices liberty to order: so also does education. The order attained in each

case is not easily distinguishable from chaos, unless you are familiar with the contours. But, although education does not profess to despise business, it is in every grade imperfectly designed as a preparation for business. There has been improvement—greatest in the elementary schools; but more improvement is needed.

Education used to be natural, automatic, instinctive; it has become self-conscious. Education used to be individualistic; it has become socialistic. The immediate result is a greater consumption of energy; with a loss of efficiency in many directions. Probably, unless our European community is destroyed by some convulsion, the loss of efficiency will in course of time be compensated. The process of compensation is likely to be slow and expensive, but it may be hastened if we try to get an idea of the ends which self-conscious education is intended to subserve.

Let us look back to the processes of natural, traditional education in an agricultural village a hundred years ago. The boy was born in a miserable hut, where sooner or later a dozen like him might see the light, and several might survive. He was nursed by his mother, and then weaned. Food and clothing were scanty, but not unsuitable; fresh air and exercise were abundant. Discipline was enforced by stern and primitive methods; reading and writing were not taught; but the youngster got to know the names, the appearance, the character, the position of two or three hundred people; he got to know every hedge, every tree,

every field, every domestic animal for a mile round; he lived in intimate, though not in friendly relations, with fish, and bird, and beast; he knew his little world, in and out. As soon as he was old enough to take responsibility he was turned on to scare birds, to lead and drive stock, and help in the fields; eventually he was taught the misteries of digging, planting, ploughing, and sowing, hedging, thatching, and ditching, the care and control of animals, till he became an expert agricultural labourer. Let no townsman fancy that the trade of an agricultural labourer is an unskilled trade; it is the most skilled and most varied of all skilled trades, and in its learning a greater mass of coherent knowledge is acquired than is picked up in the factory, the workshop, the school, or the gutter, or in all of them, one after the other.

That was a school of life, a limited, earth to earth existence, but still a complete life, and a thorough school. It inculcated a number of moral ideas, sufficient to promise tolerably good behaviour in the sphere that the youngster was likely to occupy.

It lacked half a hundred things that the worst-educated hooligan of to-day has been taught; it lacked above all the cultivation of the written and spoken word on which our schools concentrate so much attention. Hodge had few words and he used them sparingly: but what he knew he knew deeply, and what he knew was necessary for his daily life and business—and, by the way, for ours.

The girl-child lived a similar life, though in a still more narrow sphere. She learned all that her mother and her grandmother had learnt by long ancestral experience. She learnt the duties of a humble household, the care of children, cooking, baking, washing, sewing, butter-making, milking, cheese-making, and such agricultural work as fell to the lot of women. She was better fitted to be a mother than most of the school-taught girls that plunge into matrimony nowadays.

In the towns the apprenticeship system ensured at small expense that a lad might learn a trade by constant observation of those who had mastered it; and afterwards by personal practice.

This primitive education fostered prejudice and conservatism; it did little to expel ignorance; but it met the needs of business and it encouraged individuality. From its first entry into the world the child was treated as an individual. Home influence while it lasted was searching and inexorable; there was no division of responsibility, or conflict of authority, between parent and schoolmaster. Business began early, and it was learnt in the practical school of business at the age when the faculties are most ductile.

So far as the towns were concerned this natural education was broken down by the factory system. It proved necessary, for reasons of health, to forbid that young children should be employed in the factories. There was nothing for the children to do at home while waiting for the age of employment to arrive. If the schools had

not been established for other reasons, they would have been necessary to keep the children out of mischief.

But elementary schools were not started for business reasons : they were started by religious men, for the moral and spiritual life, rather than for business. The schools, once started, were bound to teach something, besides religion. Reading, writing, and arithmetic, were the obvious things to teach. These things were not necessary for all business, but they were useful for some kinds of business; perhaps, though not certainly, for all. Reading, at any rate, was necessary for those who were to read the Bible. And thus the schools from the beginning acquired a literary, a bookish bent, which might have been avoided if the school had been started with the clear intention of fitting the children for their future business—for the most part manual and industrial.

Democracy came faster than schooling. But the argument that our masters must be educated assisted the growing movement in favour of elementary education for all. Men would have to vote; in order to understand the arguments laid before them by speakers and the press they needed literary education; and this was another reason, unconnected with business, why book-learning was from the first identified with education, when it became self-conscious and socialistic.

Again, the pioneers of elementary education were men of the upper or middle class, whose notion of a school was derived from the schools which they had themselves attended. Those

schools were suited to gentlemen of leisure, to masters of industry and commerce. It was not perceived that the special needs of the industrial population required a different system.

During the industrial revolution, many had risen from the ranks to control great industries and commercial establishments. The art of helping yourself was the gospel of the day, and facilities for elementary book-learning assisted self-help, and were therefore regarded as beneficent.

Elementary education in schools, begun on these lines and pressed forward by these motives, became general, then compulsory, and finally free, before the actual business needs of the community had ever been considered. It was taken for granted that elementary education, as provided in the government schools, was good for every one. When it became clear that a little of it was not of great value, it was assumed that more of the same kind would be efficacious; when that also proved insufficient, then more. And now, after more than forty years of state elementary education, it is still held by many that what the majority require is more book-learning. Yet, for a large proportion of the community, book-learning has little bearing upon business.

It is unfortunately true that what is the best preparation for life is not always the best preparation for business. At the limit the two may meet. The best education is at once the best preparation for life and the best preparation for the best business. But the business world is not

staffed entirely with field-marshals. Arithmetic and handwriting are worth more to a clerk than Plato and Shakespeare. Cleaning and cooking are worth more to most mothers than music and French. The mastery of a skilled trade is a better bread-winner than poetry and metaphysics.

But there is one ground on which the claims of life and the claims of business are identical, and that is health. Life without health is dust and ashes; health increases business efficiency in every grade and in every vocation. The first four requisites of education are food, sleep, air, exercise. When we touch the question of food we come to the first conflict of authority, of duty, of responsibility, between the parent and the State. It is right that parents should feel responsibility for their children's daily bread; it is wrong to impair that feeling of responsibility; but no less is it right to feed the hungry, no less must the State be responsible for the children whom it has taken under its care. There is a conflict also of expediencies. The great majority of parents would think it shame that their children should be fed at the public expense; but there are some too poor, others too vicious, to meet this primary duty. It is not expedient that such children should go unfed; ill-nourished children grow into unsound men and women; they become a burden rather than a strength to their country. Schooling is worse than wasted on the starving. On the other hand, the State has enough burdens on its back already; if it once accepts the principle that the foodless must be

fed, there is danger that more and more will shirk their obligations. But this is a practical problem, to be solved by experience and administrative ingenuity. We have adopted a socialistic system of education, and this is one of the problems which it carries with it. By one hand or another the children must be fed. Dilemmas are formidable in logic; they are the daily discipline of practice.

Unwholesome and unsuitable food is bad education. I am glad to think that by Care Committees and Health Visitors the principles of sound and economical diet are likely to be made better known. In matters of food (no less than in politics and invention) there has been a revolution in the last hundred years. A new tradition, a new custom, a new code of fashion is needed. No nation is so inexpert, so wasteful, so stupid, in the management of food as the English. No nation has better food to waste.

The State has not yet assumed the duty of seeing that all young children are in bed by half-past six. Its activities might be and are worse employed. But better would be a new and sound tradition. Sleep is sovereign against neurosis, the endemic of our time.

Fresh air was early recognised as important in education. The public elementary schools are on the whole roomy and well ventilated, as they ought to be. But overcrowded dwellings, narrow and sunless streets, all these are bad for education.

Children who live in the country, children who

run about the streets, one way and another get plenty of exercise. But it is now admitted to be bad for children to sit still too long in school. They ought to stretch their limbs at least once every hour—if possible, in the open air. And disciplined movement, though not exactly necessary for business, has its business value. A man or woman with an erect, trim, easy, graceful action of the limbs makes a better impression, has a better chance in life, a better chance in marriage, than those who have only learnt to slouch. Dancing is a natural joy for the young. I should like to see dancing taught in all the schools. It cultivates among other things control of the limbs; and in some mysterious way the mind that has achieved perfect mastery of the body is a better mind.

Control of facial expression should also be taught in school; no doubt it is taught, but I see many who do not appear to have learnt it. Open mouths, slack lips, staring eyes, meaningless contortions of the face, sulky looks—these are a bad letter of introduction, and no sound person need carry such tell-tales on his countenance. The care of the appearance and the clothing is a necessary element of self-respect; and self-respect is necessary to success.

Full attention is now being paid to physical education; but we have vast arrears to make up on this side; in my own business I see proof of the disastrous neglect of ears and teeth; and the generation now at work, even the generation now growing up, have a heavy claim for damages against

Victorian statesmen, who so lightly assumed the responsibility for the education of youth. That responsibility now rests on us, and we have a clearer conception of its magnitude than those worthy but purblind magnates.

Next after care of the health, comes the cultivation of the senses. We have not yet attempted the self-conscious cultivation of the senses of smell and taste, though these are not without importance. But it is accepted nowadays that visual and aural and manual training are of the highest value.

This is not a practical treatise on school methods, so I will not describe the various devices which are and may be employed in schools to train the eye and ear. If the eye and ear are trained to discern delicate differences, the faculty of observation must be trained at the same time. The school through which Mr. Lurgan passed Kim is a school which every boy and girl might with advantage attend; though here, as everywhere else, the schoolmaster must be on his guard lest by over-insistence he convert a natural pleasure into a source of fatigue and disgust. The street, the country-side, are good training grounds for observation, if once the senses of the child are opened. But it is not uncommon to find children whose eyes and ears seem to be sealed, either because the intelligence is inert, or sometimes because an imaginative and reflective bent is in excess. Such children require the most careful and sympathetic treatment by the schoolmaster,

lest they should grow up to go through life blind and deaf.

The gateways of the mind must be swung wide open; and the sense of touch is an important adit. There may be doubts whether Madame Montessori's successes are real; if real, whether they are due to her methods or to her personality. But no fault can be found with her two main doctrines: Give the child all the liberty that he can use with safety; guide him to the use of his sensitive hands. I regard dumb-bells with suspicion as academic, said Samuel Butler. All school devices must be academic, but let us be as little academic as we may. Every natural device for encouraging children to use their hands, in games, in building with bricks, in drawing, modelling, simple construction—all these are useful. Writing itself is a manual art, and valuable not only as a means of putting words on paper. Let us not forget that every child will need the use of his hands in his life and business; that more of them will earn their livelihood by the toil of their hands and bodies than by the exercise of their higher intellectual faculties; that the bodies develop first and the minds develop later; that the child in its natural play is developing its senses and limbs for use in later life, and if left to itself will always be doing something with its hands, though it be only making mud-pies and building grottos of oyster-shells. Manual training has come into practical education; once adopted, and its importance can never again be overlooked; its necessity for business is

more than obvious, it cries aloud; but its efficacy in fostering mental development is not less certain. A new ingredient has entered our system of training, which relieves the monotony of school, and will repay tenfold experiment and invention.

For business and for life alike, a well-nourished, well-knit, well-nerved, well-developed body is the first need; the second is a trained eye, and ear, and hand; the third is an alert intelligence.

It must be admitted that the results of compulsory state education are hitherto disappointing, from the point of view of business. The population has more book-learning, but it is not yet more efficient. We have too many clerks, too many salesmen and saleswomen, too much casual labour, not enough manual skill, not enough alertness of intelligence. The problem was indeed greater than the pioneers imagined. They opened schools, but they did not understand that they were closing the school of life. Our elders describe to us the intelligence of the old illiterates. Their memories were infallible, their accuracy indefeasible, their industry untiring; they could reckon without the aid of figures. Such prodigies were no doubt exceptional, but the school of life was a good school. It had its failures, no doubt, perhaps in greater proportion than our modern schools; it had also its conspicuous successes. But we cannot go back and trust to the haphazard methods of the school of life. We must go on and improve our man-made schools; we must not

rest while the results of art are inferior to those of chance.

What is the value of book-learning for business? Every business man will tell you it is less than many scholastics even now imagine. Every business man prefers the people he employs to be intelligent; but if you tell him that book-learning develops the intelligence, he will shrug his shoulders. It may, or it may not: his experience does not convince him that it does.

Agricultural labourers, miners, porters, railwaymen, navvies, labourers, machine operatives, carters, domestic servants—in all these classes intelligence is valuable, but not book-learning. In almost all the skilled manual trades book-learning is not directly useful. If book-learning does not develop intelligence and love of work it is useless in all these occupations.

Even for clerks, half the things they have learnt at school have no business value. Their reading, their spelling, their handwriting, their arithmetic, their English, will stand them in good stead. Their history, their geography, except a little elementary topography, their mathematics, their English literature, all these have no direct bearing upon their work. If they have learnt foreign languages, they must know them far beyond the limit they are likely to reach at school before they can turn them to any profitable end. It is true that the higher you go in the managing class, the greater the value of instruction, and wide, coherent knowledge. But it is not right, nor is it needful, to teach the multitude things

that can be of no use to them, in order that the few may profit if their chance arrives. We should avoid the error of those who would teach all secondary schoolboys Greek and Latin, for the sake of the lucky few who may attain to classical scholarship. The few have their rights; they will repay all care and attention spent upon them; they should not be sacrificed to the many, nor should the many be sacrificed to them. We want a scheme of education suited to the many; we want also a scheme of education suited to the few; we want a crown of education suited to the fewest. But each scheme should be arranged so as not to interfere with the others.

I do not propose to banish books from schools. Books have their value for life, as I shall explain elsewhere. But book-learning is only a means to an end. At the limit that end is knowledge and wisdom. For the many the end of book-learning is intelligence; the end of schooling is intelligence, complete development, love of work, and character.

All those schemes, for which I desire expansion and success—physical training, visual training, aural training, manual training, nature-study, to which I might add street-study, an interesting subject, which, so far as I know, has not been added to the official list—are going to withdraw a good deal from the time allotted to book-learning. But if book-learning ceases to be an end in itself and becomes a means for development of the intelligence, there will be, for this reason also, less learning and fewer subjects.

That is a sacrifice which I, for one, would willingly make.

I am always afraid of saying anything about schools, lest the fault to which I refer may have been removed while I was not looking. Progress is constantly being made; the world does move; and just now I think it is moving in the right direction. But I believe I am safe in saying that what we still want in many elementary schools is more liberty, and more care for individuality.

There is a cry just now for more liberty in the schools. That means more liberty for the schoolmasters. No doubt, intelligent opinion is in favour of liberty for the schoolmaster, subject to safeguards against moral and intellectual and practical aberrations. The French Minister, who gloried in the thought that at a particular hour all the children in France, at each stage, were learning the same thing, was glorying in the power of the machine which he governed, but he had no right to glory in his own wisdom. It appears to me that the liberty of the schoolmaster under many education authorities, though not perhaps under all, is fairly complete. Perhaps this is one of the belated cries that are raised when a grievance has been removed.

If you give liberty to the schoolmaster, some enterprising Educational Publisher will offer him a text-book in exchange for his liberty. The text-books which give the lesson ready-made, which tell what the teacher said to the children, and what the children said to the teacher, produce

the machine-made instruction which fatigues but does not illuminate. I find no fault with a text-book which, placed in the hands of the children, serves as a core, a nucleus, for the lesson; no objection to a model lesson illustrating a good method; no fault with the text-book which is suited to the mature mind of the teacher, and has to be translated, reconstructed, before it can be given to the class. But ready-made lessons are anathema. A poor lesson that comes straight from the teacher's heart and mind is better than the best that can be got out of a book. Let the teachers have liberty, and let them guard it jealously against vendors of cheap doses.

Liberty for the schoolmaster is important; liberty for the children is even more important. Every child, every healthy and normal child, is full of laudable curiosity. It is our business to utilise that curiosity. As a rule, we paralyse it with unacceptable learning. What we should do is to guide it, to stimulate it, to assist it. If we can do that, the child will do three-quarters of the work that is even now done by the schoolmaster. Books develop the intelligence, in so far as they stimulate thought, in so far as they suggest ideas, in so far as the learning they provide responds to a hunger of the mind, and is linked forthwith with other learning to form a growing whole of knowledge. These are difficult doctrines; the bearings of them lie in their application; the application of them lies with the schoolmaster. The best schoolmasters already fully appreciate the nature of their task. Children are not sent

to school to be stuffed like Surrey fowls; they are sent there to learn to live and to think, so that they may live the better. Schoolmasters are not put into schools to obey orders; they are put there to help the children. More liberty for schoolmasters, by all means, where it is needed; but also more liberty for the children, where it is needed.

The liberty of children to learn and exercise their minds must depend in large measure on the size of the classes. Given fifty children in a class, they do not, one and all, nor even one, respond to a given formula. Each one is an individual, with capacities, desires, aspirations, tastes, peculiar to itself. Each one deserves a separate, an individual treatment. The curves of their progress will resemble each other more or less, but no two will coincide. We are and we must be socialists in education; but we should also be individualists. For every child entrusted to our care is different from every other. The bed of Procrustes was not a good bed. We should none of us allow our children to sleep in it, if we knew what we were doing.

Fifty, or sixty, or seventy, children in a class. We have asked, we are still asking, too much of our schoolmasters. How can a schoolmaster give sufficient individual attention to even fifty children? Fifty sheep, no doubt, one shepherd can attend; but we do not wish our children to be sheep. We should not put one man to look after fifty cows, or fifty horses. How much better, how much more valuable in sheer money-earning

capacity, are our children than cows or horses! How can there be any liberty in a class of fifty? How can intelligence be formed? How can thought be set a-moving? How can the love of work be encouraged? How can there be much beyond discipline and teaching? Education is costly, no doubt; but it is going to be more costly, before it is satisfactory. It is going to cost us much in money, it has cost us, it must cost us, more in mind, otherwise our money will be wasted.

Very little of what is learnt in an elementary school is directly useful from the aspect of business to those who learn it. You cannot find any form of learning, not even reading, writing and arithmetic, that would be immediately useful to all our fellow-citizens in their business. We are told that many promising school-lads forget all they have learnt at school within a few years. That is to be regretted; but the learning is not all that matters. If the intelligence has been awakened, if curiosity has been kept alive, if the love of work has been aroused, if the desire to learn and the impulse to excellence has been fostered, those will not be lost though the young man forget his very A, B, C. Learning is always a means to an end; it is never an end in itself, except to the professional student.

Perhaps the most discouraging aspect of our modern life is the distaste for work. That arises partly, no doubt, from that magnificent subdivision of labour which our ancestors so much

admired. When a man is only a tiny wheel in a great machine, the product of which he may not ever see, the artist's joy is denied to him. When only a minute portion of his faculties is ever called into operation by his work the higher satisfaction of the workman cannot be his. But the love of work is not wholly dependent on either of these feelings; it is in the being, in the blood; it comes to us from an industrious ancestry who subdued the brute creation and the forces of nature by their labour. Being natural, it can be developed by exercise and habit, it can be atrophied by want of use. One of the main functions of the school is to develop the love of work.

I do not believe that the elementary school is an unhappy or a repulsive place. I believe that in the great majority of such schools the children are happy and glad to return. But with classes of fifty or more I do not see how the children can be made to do much work for themselves. Many schoolmasters, I feel sure, are doing all that they can do in this direction; but the conditions are still unpropitious, if we desire the children to acquire the love of work, to catch the desire to learn for themselves. If the children acquire the habit of taking their meat from the spoon, their school training is not good for them, but bad. It is all too easy for schools to quench the natural love of work.

There is a class of Boy Clerks in the Civil Service, recruited by a good enough competitive examination of a secondary kind, between fifteen

and sixteen. In order to obtain a permanent situation they have to pass another examination for which they have two chances, between seventeen and eighteen. This second examination is of a simple kind, and unless the competition is severe every one of these chosen boys ought to be able to pass it with a few months' evening work. Learning that there was a serious deficiency of qualified candidates to fill the permanent posts, I inquired as to the reason. I was told that out of 428 candidates leaving the Service 164 had never sat for this second examination, 84 had failed once, 180 had failed twice. I say nothing about those who never sat; perhaps they did not want to be clerks; perhaps they found better openings for themselves. But how can it be that so large a proportion sat and failed to qualify? I can only suggest that these boys were all right as long as they were at school with some one to teach them and to make them learn. But when it came to learning for themselves, they had not formed the habit. They did not like the exertion, they did not answer even to the spur of self-interest.

The development of intelligence, the love of work, the desire to learn, all these go together—they require liberty for the scholars, they require care for the individuality of the several children, they are dependent partly on the size of the classes. But they are impeded by the worship of learning for its own sake. The old bad system of payment by results has gone. But it is so much easier to test the possession of learning than

to test intelligence, love of work, the desire to learn, that it is not unnatural that many schoolmasters should work for the former rather than for the latter. Besides, it is always easier, especially for the schoolmaster, to do the work oneself than to make the others do it. And, though payment by results has gone, the influence is still felt, and must be felt so long as the effects are still operative on some of the older teachers, whose habits cannot be changed by a stroke of the pen. Education is not a thing that can be changed in a moment. Improvements work slowly; mistakes make themselves felt for many a weary year. It is encouraging to remember that improvements have a like prolonged and cumulative operation.

Finally, for business, the last important result of schooling is character. The tone of a good school is an education in itself. Every feeling, every habit, every expression in word or manners, every impulse, every thought, is raised perceptibly by the tone of a good school. Mere discipline is a good thing. Liberty is a good thing, but, however free we may be, however powerful, we have all to submit to authority, we have all to bow to rules, to environment. But, when these young things go out into the world, they will have to oscillate between the iron discipline of business, and the apparent liberty of leisure. The mere discipline of school may fit them for the first, so long as they are in subordinate positions. But, if they wish to rise above the ruck, they must

possess self-control, they must have learned to be their own masters. This can be learnt at school, but not under iron discipline; but rather by the orderly exercise of liberty and self-directed activities—in study, as well as in games, clubs, and the like—and by care for individuality.

Here again the size of the classes tells against the master, however sympathetic, wise, and enlightened he may be.

People who know more about business than about education are always talking about useful studies. I have no prejudice against useful studies. If anything that is directly useful can be taught at school, by all means let it be taught, provided that it is useful to those who learn it. But schools, like dumb-bells, are and must be academic. You cannot learn to box by using dumb-bells. Similarly, you cannot learn a trade at school, in classes of fifty; and, if you could learn a trade at school, it is probable that it would not be a trade that all would wish to follow. Manual training, training in domestic economy, all these things are good; but in schools they must be academic. They cannot completely prepare for business or life. In a northern district it was the practice, when a baby was born, for the eldest daughter to stay at home for a month and help in the house. The Education Authority in its wisdom forebade this practice, and, at the same time, ordered a large supply of full-size dolls, each with a complete outfit of baby clothing, for the girl children to practise upon in school. This

is an extreme case of dumb-bells against boxing—dolls against a real baby—if the story is true, and not merely well invented.

What I have said is not directed against trade-schools or technical schools, any more than it is directed against schools of medicine, or engineering, or law. Trade-schools are a promising experiment; how far they can be extended will be seen by trial. Technical schools are intended for those who have elected to follow certain vocations. They carry with them their own problems. They are supplementary to education; they are not, at present, a part of general education.

But, if we once take note of the fact that no part of the book-learning taught at school is necessarily useful to all in their business, we shall see that, so far as the claims of business are concerned, the book-learning is not an end but only a means. It is a means to awake the intelligence, to open the mind, to create new interests, to open new avenues for thought. The more the school instruction is brought into close touch with the practical life of the district in which the school is placed, the more the realistic applications of it are seized and brought home to the children, the more that book-learning is likely to perform its proper work in stimulating the intelligence, creating a love of work, and a desire to learn, the more its value for business will be increased.

Every here and there bits of useful instruction can be fitted in. No one can learn at school to be a gardener. But it is natural for children to have their little gardens, and grow a few things in them;

a training garden is a natural adjunct to a rural school. They will learn a good deal by that, though they will hardly learn to be gardeners, or even to manage a cottage garden. Anything and everything of that kind is good, and not less good because it brings home to the children that business exists, and that book-learning is not business, except for professors.

Throughout this chapter I have spoken as if the school was all, and the parent nothing. The parent is not negligible; the parents can, if they choose, be all-important. But in existing circumstances the schools are in too many cases the governing factor. The parent abdicates; the school is the sole physical, moral, religious, intellectual, and business instructor. I think few, except the schoolmasters, recognise how important the schoolmasters have become in our modern communities. But, if and when the general level of intelligence and responsibility has been raised by education, then a new generation of parents may grow up, keen to stimulate the intelligence of their children, eager to teach them all they know of duty, and self-control, and practical wisdom. Without a wise parental regimen, the task of the schoolmaster is heart-breaking. No wonder that some of them confine their attention to the book-learning and the discipline, and are satisfied if these things are well reported.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AND LIFE

It is the purpose of education—scholastic and domestic—to prepare for life; but life itself is the great educator. Happy those who can learn the lessons that life provides, without schedule or programme, without play-time, respite, or vacation. Life loves a willing pupil; with the shirker, the recalcitrant, the obtuse, its methods are severe. The schoolmaster may visit the unlearning and contumacious with rods, but life will chastise him with scorpions and with cockatrices. It is the duty of what we narrowly call education to fit our pupils for business, but it is still more the duty of such education to fit them to learn the lessons of life, and to stand its tests and examinations. The more gifted the pupil, the more severe do those tests become. The education of life is too large a subject for this book to comprehend; but education for life is a theme that cannot be avoided.

Life all too frequently obliterates the manuscript of school. I read not long ago a book called *Across the Bridges:* descriptions of life on the south side of the Thames. There was much

in it to claim attention; but the author's sketch of the changes that take place in the children after leaving school stays in my mind. Over the water, as on this side, there are excellent schools, and excellent human material. There may not be much assistance in some of the homes, there is little from any of the surroundings, but when the schoolmaster has done with the children they are for the most part self-respecting, well-mannered, intelligent, alert. Then follows the gradual declension. Social influences are unpropitious, employments are not elevating; within a few years all that the school appeared to have imparted of intelligence and polish will have vanished in the majority.

Some of us, who perhaps have not lost what we possessed at fourteen, may remember what we were at that age. We had no doubt been nurtured with more care at home and at school than most of these children; but how much of our polish and instruction would have stood fast had we been then turned loose in Battersea or the Borough to earn our livelihood?

It is probable that a carter or a porter will be a lout; it is likely that a shop-boy will be—well, a shop-boy; but, if so, has all the schooling run to waste? Not entirely, I think; such classes are, I fully believe, in spite of all appearances, more civilised than their predecessors of thirty years ago. But humanity cannot be satisfied with the results hitherto achieved.

We have already seen that the socialistic

system of education goes far to relieve parents of responsibility which properly belongs to them. The best parents, no doubt, do not let their own responsibility slip; but it is natural that the majority should leave to others what others are willing to undertake. But whatever sum of authority and influence the parents may have retained up to the end of school-time is likely to slide from them when the boy or girl begins to earn a livelihood. School discipline ceases for the majority at about fourteen; parental discipline—such as it may be—is weakened from that moment when the young people have their own money of which they can dispose. And yet the years from fourteen to eighteen, the years of puberty and adolescence, are the most critical years of the whole development.

The discipline of work and business does not make up for this defect. A man may be good at business, and clumsy, unintelligent, ineffective, unwise, in his own more important personal life. We all know those who never make a mark in business, but are admirable in their homes and with their friends. Moreover, the work, the business, into which young persons are likely to drift on leaving school, does not even fit them for work and business; they earn a few shillings a week for a few years, and then find themselves stranded without any marketable skill. And, even if the chance education of business were enough for business purposes, there is still the rest of life, the more important rest, to be considered.

A mark of the civilised man is the use he makes of leisure. Education must be regarded as incomplete that does not fit the pupil for the use of his leisure. In the reaction between character and life, character should be adaptable rather than stubborn, but character should hold its own, and mould the life that moulds it in return. It is required of nearly all men—it will some day, perhaps, be required of all women—that they should take a share in public affairs. If they take no part, yet their fortunes depend upon the policy which others, more active, impose upon the whole. The function of early education in regard to life is thus to cultivate wholesome and varied tastes, to build up directing principles and habits in the personality, to fit for domestic, social, and political relations.

What formative powers work upon those classes whose schooling ceases at about fourteen? Putting domestic influence aside, which varies in almost every home and cannot be changed by the rules or the agents of any public authority, the schoolmaster has his chance during seven to nine of the most impressionable years of life. Though the predominance of books in his armoury has been excessive, books must always be his chief instrument. I have depreciated the study of books from the point of view of business, but I should be the last to depreciate it from the point of view of life. Books are to be studied for life rather than for business. If that is once accepted, instruction takes on a new spirit. Those who began the movement for elementary education no

doubt imagined that you had only to teach the young to read, and the world of imagination and knowledge would be open to them. It is open to them, but there are few who find their path into its treasure-houses. Reading, like all other gifts, can be used or misused. What use or misuse is made of reading may be inferred from the flood of trumpery periodicals which finds a sale. There is not much harm for the most part in such trash, but the reading of it cannot be regarded as a worthy use of leisure. The schoolmaster, after the necessities of physical and business training are satisfied, has the opportunity of implanting in some of his pupils the love of good books. But he must have it first himself; the system under which schoolmasters are trained should lead them to regard books as counsellors, friends, and playmates for leisure hours, not merely as tools used for instruction and professional propaedeutic. There is already a great advance in this direction.

Reading is not for all, but there are no doubt many who have missed through no fault of their own the joy and the guidance that a few shillings will now procure. Music is another harmonising and civilising influence. The teaching of music in elementary schools should be devoted to the development of taste, comprehension, and wisely directed inclination. Singing classes are good. Jaques-Dalcroze's Eurhythmics are excellent; they combine musical instruction with what I have claimed above for dancing—the drill of measured, rhythmical, and controlled movement.

But the children should not only be taught music; they should hear good music, if that is in any way possible. In many country districts the village choir, the village musical society, afford almost the only outlook into the world where sound obeys the mind, and moves it in return. In English towns the opportunities for hearing good music are not so abundant as in Germany; but in churches, in parks, even in music-halls, they are becoming more frequent. If skilled performers were to make good music now and then in the schools, their pains would be well bestowed. And if a generation trained to love music were to arise, our music-halls would be transformed: a transformation of which there are already some signs. Performing dogs and birds and elephants and seals, acrobats, skirts and kicks, would give more room to soloists and quartets, chorussed and orchestral music. We are not now a musical nation; but we have been more musical than we are; we evolved the English church-music and gave a home to the Oratorio, not perhaps the best music, but still noble and worthy; we still breed and train the Lancashire and Yorkshire choirs. A good instinct perverted is seen in the cult of the piano; if school taught but this—that execution is only for the few, appreciation for the many—it would have taught a valuable lesson.

Music, like reading, is not for all, but it is for many. It is the most democratic of the arts. Its spiritual and intellectual influence defies analysis; it irritates, and stimulates, and pacifies;

upon the artist, whose fibres it tears and excruciates with passion, its operation has something of malign; but to those whose working hours are dull, mechanical, and sordid, it brings harmony —partly spiritual, partly physical—and ideal beauty, beyond the power of any other art.

To pass to other subjects of school instruction, history and geography, which have an intimate connexion, have been in the past—in the forgotten past, I trust—more ill-treated than almost any subjects of education. History was for a long time regarded and taught as a series of names, and events, and dates, without unity, interconnexion, or meaning; supplemented at best by stories about Alfred and the cakes, or the like. Geography was for a long time treated as a list of topographical details to be committed to memory. Almost all of this is without value or significance. History and geography were for a long time treated like technical subjects, in which exact learning is all important. On the contrary, the function of history and human geography is to stimulate the imagination, to inform the understanding, to widen the outlook. Unless these purposes are served, the history is without worth, the geography is only useful for the details of —here and there—a business. If history and geography are treated in the proper way, the child will go out into life prepared to find history happening before its eyes, with the fields of Europe, the territories of the globe, spread out before its ken, as the scene of majestic dramas of

which the action is incessant and progressive. He will be in some measure prepared to take his part as a citizen and a voter.

If the youth does nothing else that is intellectual and illuminative in his leisure hours, he will from time to time read the daily paper—the *Daily Mirror*, perhaps, or the *Daily Mail*. The daily paper is the greatest of original historical authorities, affording matter for infinite reflective, constructive, and imaginative scope. But has any of my readers ever tried to imagine what the daily paper means to the undeveloped? We can guess from the importance that is given in papers of widest circulation to personal details : clothing, accidents, adventures, murders, robberies, scandals, trials. On the abstract or general side the chief part is devoted to politics. And the political side is mostly concerned with catch-words and stock phrases, which take the place of ideas. The daily paper should afford from day to day subjects of instruction in every school. It should be woven into the history and geography; the history and the geography should be called up to illuminate modern events.

We do not teach literature, music, history, geography, for business purposes; but to furnish the mind, open the understanding, vivify the faculties, and stimulate the imagination. We cannot do much in these directions before the age of fourteen; much of our seed will fall upon stony ground; but if we devote the scanty time at our disposal to inculcating dry facts without illuminative value, we shall do nothing at all,

except waste the time and dull the appetite for knowledge and the intelligence of our pupils.

Quite apart from any definite tastes which we may awaken in the young to adorn and diversify their recreations, anything that enlivens their intelligence and stimulates their imagination will alleviate the burden of business and give them lights to lead them onward during their leisure.

The natural love of beauty that used to dwell in our race, that raised and adorned our cathedrals, our churches, our castles, and our mansions, seems now to be extinct, or to live only in the mind of a few professionals and a few cultivated people. The traditional and instinctive is dead; we must rely upon self-conscious effort to resuscitate the love of beauty. Until that is done, it is useless to look for a revival of art—in any living sense. Architecture, for instance, after music the most democratic of the arts, depends not more upon the conception of the architect than on the execution of the handicraftsman. If the craftsman is tied and bound to the scrupulous reproduction of a plan or drawing, his work will be dull and starved, and kill the general conception, however good. All interior decoration, furniture, and fittings, all details of any plan of construction or laying out, depend for their success on the instinct of the workman. And the demand for beauty, without which our dull and sordid surroundings will never be improved, must come from the multitude. It can only be effective if the minds

of the many are attuned to beauty, and hate ugliness.

No rules can be laid down, no scheme can be prescribed, for the renovation of the love of beauty in our masses. But it must, as things are, proceed in the first instance from the elementary schools, and from the love of beauty in elementary schoolmasters. The love of beauty may be rare in the elementary schoolmaster; but I think it is only by accident and defective training if it is so. Given the love of beauty in the schoolmaster—and the schoolmaster loves many beautiful things, such as duty, self-sacrifice, truthfulness, honesty, and good work—I feel sure he would find means to awaken it in his classes. In every district, rural or urban, there are beautiful things to be noticed. If there are churches, museums, happy effects of nature or of art or of accident, he can bring them to observation. We expect much of our schoolmasters, and we get much; we must expect more, and we shall get more. Just now we seem more anxious to get well-educated clerks for our public offices than to secure the most suitable schoolmasters. The second is the more urgent need. The entrance to the schoolmaster's profession should be thronged with applicants, from whom the most worthy should be chosen. For ten men who are fit to be clerks, there is only one that is fit to be a schoolmaster.

If we find a poet carting muck, we think that we see a tragedy. But there is a greater tragedy, when he whose duties require him to cart muck is not a poet and a humourist. If the soul and the

mind are awakened, if they have independent force to resist the weight of circumstance, occupation matters little. If we can hear the music of the spheres, then the rattle of the typewriter, the insistence of figures to be totted in a book, the monotonous toil of a navvy or a ploughman, will not avail to hush that music. Education, wisely started, puts it within the reach of " Everyman " to attune his hearing to the melody of humanity, the song of the worlds.

But the spiritual and intellectual preparation for life and leisure is not all; the material also demands our attention. The majority will always find their chief interest in the concrete rather than in the abstract or imaginative. The great conquests of the modern world have been made by science and machinery. If we open the eyes of our children to these wonders, we increase to them the value of life. It is obvious that mechanism and construction offer abundant subjects for school lessons. I am not sure whether girls are interested in such things: I am sure that boys are. Everything that widens the interest in daily life is a preparation for life; but this is or may be to some extent a preparation for business also. Wherever an unfamiliar machine is at work, a Scotch derrick, a steam-navvy, a system for generation of electricity, the mechanical operations can be studied and explained, so far as the boys can understand them. A new building, especially if it is of great size, offers a good object-lesson. A plough, a mechanical scarifier, a

thrashing machine, a grain elevator, a drill, all offer opportunities. The physical side of geography can be illustrated in every country district. Nature-study is already widely pursued in schools. A beginning can be made in every school of unfolding the marvels of material knowledge. But the schoolmaster must be sure that he knows aright what he has to explain. In truth, we expect a great deal of our schoolmasters; they are that branch of the workers in the hive, whose business it is to see that the young brood is duly nourished and brought to useful maturity. There are no workers of whom more is expected; and the expectation is not in vain.

All social sports and games are valuable. We call ourselves a sporting people, and we are, but our sporting instincts are confined in large measure, not by choice, but by the pressure of circumstance, to watching races, football, and cricket. The beauty of our parks and open spaces should not be sacrificed; it has its own great educative worth; but every yard of ground that can be spared ought to be thrown open for those youths who desire to exercise their bodies and their minds and their faculties of combined action. It is no good scolding the young men because they crowd to football matches—unless you are sure that they might themselves be playing football. Civilisation may be defined as the art of living decently in towns; what the palaestra did in Athens, what the Bath Club does in London for its members, the Polytechnics do for the less fortunate

classes; such play-grounds should be multiplied. But, if it is desirable, and for reasons of health, education, and sound development it is desirable, that young men should meet together to play, combine, and strive in competition, the beginnings of such combination and such tastes must be laid at school. Then any opportunities which exist will be brought to use.

I need not insist much upon the building of character in the elementary school. All eyes are fully opened to the importance of moral education in the school. I must, however, repeat, what I have said above, that character cannot be developed under conditions of rigid discipline and mere instruction. The more liberty that can be introduced into the methods of the elementary schools, the more the children can be allowed to work out things for themselves, instead of receiving their nutriment predigested—predigested even before it reaches the schoolmaster, as I see it in certain text-books—the more chance there is for the individuality to grow and gather strength. Technical progress may be thus less rapid, but intellectual and moral progress will be more certain and more firm.

It is put to us by Mr. F. J. Gould, in his *Moral Instruction*, that all the qualities which we most desire to cultivate—self-reliance, self-control, initiative, perseverance, strength of will, sympathetic comprehension of our neighbours, intelligence, alertness, quickness—are qualities capable of misuse. I am myself quite willing to take that

risk : provided the teacher exercises his enormous opportunities of suggestion so as to set before the taught on every fitting occasion noble rather than unworthy objects of desire. But it is not good that the young should be surfeited with morality. All forms of priggishness—unnatural virtue, sermonising, want of sympathy with youth, narrow judgements, censorious fussiness, multiplication of rules and offences against rules—these tend to defeat their own purpose. A high example, a good tone, coupled with human sympathy, human comprehension, and a true sense of proportion, these are the schoolmaster's ideal. A sense of humour is a great help. If the schoolmaster is a good man and competent, the morals of his school will correspond. What Matthew Arnold said of his father is still the schoolmaster's high calling :

> " Still thou upraisest with zeal
> The humble good from the ground,
> Sternly repressest the bad !
> Still, like a trumpet, dost rouse
> Those who with half-open eyes
> Tread the border-land dim
> 'Twixt vice and virtue; reviv'st,
> Succourest . . . ."

Above all, we should decline to cultivate a colourless mediocrity, and fear of deviation from a common pattern. Strong virtue is magnificent; strong vice is dangerous; weakness is always contemptible; uniformity is barren.

But when the elementary schoolmaster has

done his work, the boy or girl goes out into the world—a David to meet Goliath. There are four or five more years before maturity, years full of adverse chances. This is the time when parental example, parental influence, is all-important. But we have already shaken and impaired paternal and maternal authority by the school; the world will weaken it still more by granting a large measure of economic independence.

There are many who would endeavour to replace domestic discipline by carrying on school education of all alike to fifteen, sixteen, or even higher ages. If school education were to become more perfect as preparation for average life and average business than it is ever likely to be, there would be much to be said for this; but the family budget of nine-tenths of our citizens will not permit it. They cannot forgo the contributions of children to current expenses, and also maintain them meanwhile. Those who are thought likely to repay further schooling should receive all possible encouragement to continue their studies; but for nine-tenths of the children, fit or unfit, the invincible argument of *res angusta* will limit the school period.

But in course of time we shall evolve machinery, by public and, better still, by private effort, that will do much to tide over this dangerous period. Much has already been done. The Boy Scout movement, though it cannot catch all, is admirable for boys of this age. Continuation classes, if properly devised, and made interesting, illuminating, or useful—we want all these elements,

to suit different natures—will do something for many. Polytechnics, trade-schools, technical courses, commercial courses, courses in cookery, dressmaking, and domestic economy, do much and will do more. The girls' clubs and boys' clubs that are carried on with so much zest and sympathy in many districts afford further assistance. I think we can look ahead with confidence to the development of all these agencies, and of others like them which have not been invented, to preserve the work of the schoolmaster from obliteration. It must be remembered that at this age we have only to provide for leisure; the hours of work are covered by commercial and industrial discipline. The chief danger on this side is in the blind-alley openings. But associations for apprenticeship, and committees for directing juvenile employment, have already begun to fence off these traps for the unwary. The watches set to guard the critical years of puberty and adolescence are many, and will become more numerous. No one organisation, no single compulsion, can deal with the multifarious individuality that has to be protected. At school every boy, every girl, is a different being, but they can in some measure be grouped and brigaded. After school is left behind, the variety of types, characters, needs, and tastes, makes variety of methods yet more necessary.

The school, and the agencies that strive to supplement the school, provide to some extent training for social and domestic and industrial and

commercial life; but training for political duty must also be considered. The school-training in history and geography, if still further improved, would lay a foundation; all opportunity should be given to carry on these studies after compulsory schooling has ceased; but I do not much believe in lectures or teaching on what is often called civics. It is hard in civics to hit the mean between mere information and propaganda. History is the real school of civics; if you try to isolate the information useful to the citizen, you tear it from its natural connexions, its organic life. It is not learning so much that is needed, as comprehension and judgement; and I am much afraid of political influence in the schools, employed to suit the views of a party. Debating societies are good; but I imagine that the most part of the political training of the youth of the country comes from political associations, friendly society organisations, trade unions, and socialist clubs. There is in most of these bodies too much partisanship, too much acrimony, too narrow a point of view, to make them ideal grounds of training for those who have to sit in judgement on politicians. But all these agencies open minds to ideas; the ideas that rush in first may be the most violent, the most hasty, and those that present the narrowest front. But when ideas once begin to move, elimination, selection, comparison, can hardly fail to follow. Sooner or later, truth will have its own way; the older men will gain not only experience but gradually wisdom; they will pass on their reading of life to the young; the

young will no doubt reject it as old-fashioned and out-of-date; but it will not therefore miss its eventual fruit. Just now, partisan politics have it all their own way; but there are signs that the voters are beginning to learn that they are not parties to the suit, but judges in the action; that their interests are at stake; and that if they are to deliver judgements that will not afterwards be regretted they must not only hear and weigh both sides, but also think for themselves, remembering that neither party is dominated by a disinterested regard for their welfare. The political education of the people is progressing, and is likely to lead to unforeseen results.

Anything resembling political education in schools is dangerous; to-day it may be patriotism that is offered as a subject; to-morrow it may be something much more objectionable. The business of the schools is to prepare and develop the intelligence, to train and strengthen the character and individual judgement. If that is successfully accomplished, the politicians will have to fight out their battles—not now, perhaps, but some years hence—before an instructed and confident tribunal.

I write these things; but I am only too well aware how few there are that care for beauty and understanding. Travel in the tube on Sunday evening, when the boys and girls—whom we have trained—are coming back from their afternoon; walk down the Strand, go into any golf club, and you will see how much education—higher or

lower—has hitherto effected; you may infer that little more will ever be effected.

Nine-tenths of men and women are perhaps incapable of rising above the material world. Of the others many are ashamed to admit—even to themselves—that there are things above and beyond the necessities of ordinary life, which they can see and their fellows do not see. Those who acknowledge intellectual and imaginative calls gather for self-protection in eccentric cliques and coteries, circles of mutual admiration. But somewhere among the more gifted tenth are those who will do all by which our generation will deserve to be known. It may be for them alone that education should work; if so, the kind of education that I dream—freed from the dullness of pedantry and the tyranny of learning—is that only kind which will not blunt the faculties that God has given. But I believe that all have some small change, if not a talent in a napkin. Business comes first, no doubt, that daily bread may be won. But I have shown that the urgent needs of business are not exacting so far as book-learning is concerned. The further needs of business—intelligence, alertness, love of knowledge and of work—coincide very nearly with the needs of life. If we try to work for life as well as for business, business itself may also profit; in any case the needs of life should not be neglected.

It may also be said that I have confined myself to the life of thought and imagination, and that I have left out of account the life of action. The life of action is the life of business; if initiative

and individuality are not crushed out of the children, business will train for action. But for most of us business is but a narrow round, a squirrel's wheel. Education gives a chance of emerging from that narrow round by thoughts and tastes and feelings that give dignity and beauty to life. If all cannot profit by the wider, the more humane course, it is yet our duty to offer that chance to all.

CHAPTER IV

MODERN LANGUAGES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

MUCH has been said and much may be said against the Greek and Latin classics as a general instrument of secondary and higher education in this country. But there are many of us—now, shall I say, in middle age?—who, looking back on our own mental development, recognise that we owe an immense debt to the system of classical education under which we were trained. We do not grudge an hour that we spent on reading the Greek and Latin classics, on composing in Greek and Latin, prose or verse, or even an hour that we spent on studying the niceties of Greek and Latin grammar. Whatever may be the trend of future policy in education, what we had and have can never be taken from us. But those of us who watch the progress of that policy must be anxious that future generations may be schooled as well as we were. And, since we cannot deny that there were many of our schoolfellows who did not value or profit by the schooling that suited us, we must make it our endeavour or at least our hope that those who are not able or willing to get all the good that is to be got

from Greek or Latin should yet receive some corresponding benefits in another way.

We received, first of all, a thorough drilling in grammar, accidence first and syntax afterwards. Man has many tools, but the most powerful of all is language. In dealing with language generally, with our own language, and with any other languages which we may use, we conceive that we thus acquired a certainty, an accuracy, a confidence, a sense of what is possible and not possible in language, which we, at any rate, should not have acquired in any other way. Further, we became acquainted with masterpieces of all time—with Virgil, Lucretius, Horace, Catullus, Juvenal, Cicero, Livy, Cæsar, Tacitus; and in Greek with even greater masterpieces—Homer, the tragedians, Aristophanes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes. In Greek we learnt to know the finest, the most graceful, the most musical, the most flexible of all instruments of human expression.

Then we had to translate into English from Greek and Latin authors at sight. That was a fine intellectual exercise in itself. We knew that the passage before us must contain a coherent, intelligible, logical series of expressions. We had to construct, first of all, and often from imperfect knowledge, a conception of its general purport; then we had to work out the detail and seize the finest shades of meaning; last, we had to find idiomatic expressions, orderly, rhythmical, harmonious, to render the general effect and the

particular phrases, with the knowledge that our prose would be judged by a critic who was a scholar, not only in Latin and Greek, but also in English. Thus, we learnt to use our own language. The translation of ideas or statements or arguments conveyed in one language into the approximate equivalents of another speech involves a whole set of useful mental gymnastics. I think that bilinguals, like the Welsh, whose education is carried on in two languages, must get more from their elementary schools than the scholars of a country like England, where only one language is used in school.

Some authorities condemn translation, as fostering a false sense of language; an excessive preoccupation with the word. This view finds no response in my mind or experience; but—for composition—invention, construction, proportion, and arrangement, must be separately practised and taught.

Then we composed in Greek and Latin, prose and verse. I suppose the pleasantest part of our work was reading, just reading, Greek. But next to that I should certainly put successful composition in Latin or Greek verse. Yet, if one part of our classical system must be jettisoned to save the rest, I imagine it should be the verses. They were useful to some, I am certain; perhaps they were not useful to all. But no wrestling with the awkward structure of a German sentence, no graceful manœuvring with the infinite resources of French, will ever give the easy mastery of language that comes from long

practice in the artistic construction of Greek and Latin sentences. You have only to survey English prose before and after the classical revival to see how much our language owes in rhythmical and musical variety, in skilled co-ordination, in resources of style, to men who had learnt to write Latin and Greek. It will be a pity if the time ever comes when no one works for himself in that workshop.

We got also an introduction to foreign history, politics, customs, and institutions. What is valuable in historical education is not the acquisition of a set of facts or dates, or even the comprehension of a reasoned account of the causal determination of a nation's destiny, but the living into the life of a people whose manners, customs, ideas, institutions, are different from our own and yet not so different that we cannot understand them. That came to us, not by lectures or systematic instruction, but in the effort to master and understand the books that we were set to read. And those peoples, whose life grew familiar as if they had been our cousins, are the peoples on whose civilisation is based the whole of modern European culture and polity. I think even the stupidest, the idlest, the most recalcitrant of us learnt something from this.

Other things we learnt, a little at school, more at the University: political, moral, and metaphysical philosophy; but I am now dealing more with classics at school than classics at the University.

All the boys at my school had an opportunity of learning these things, but only the minority used that opportunity; many of those who failed to make much progress were stupid and dull at books; others were idle; but all of them, I think, learnt something; and some of them, I know, have lived to regret that they did not learn more. But I am willing to admit that many of them might have learnt more if the course of study had been better suited to their faculties. Greek and Latin are difficult languages, and until some progress has been made the drilling is all the profit. Hounds that are never blooded grow dull.

I think it probable that those of us who had a taste for languages and literature learnt more in those days of Latin and Greek and of all the classical wealth than our likes do now. Mathematics were not pressed upon our notice; you could learn some, if you wished, but no one bothered you much if you felt no inclination. We used to draw a great many maps, and we took great pride in making them look neat and pretty and decorating them with water-colours; we learnt no systematic history; there was a little science going, which used to turn up in the most capricious way. Looking back, I cannot imagine why I should have learnt a little geology, a little botany, even a little crystallography, and should never have pursued any of these studies any further, nor have learnt any chemistry or physics. I have never done a laboratory experiment in my life; and theoretically I regard that as

indicating a defect in the old system. Boys in modern schools have to devote a great deal of time to these subjects, and no doubt they are the better for them; they certainly have less time for Latin and Greek; and that is one of the reasons why Latin and Greek are being pushed aside, and why the most ardent of their friends can no longer demand that they should continue to be the universal instrument of secondary and higher education.

For my own part, if I were a headmaster, valuing Greek and Latin as I do, and as many of them do, I should aim at making Greek and Latin a prize for those boys who proved themselves capable of learning other and easier languages. I think every boy who aspires to a secondary education, liberal or commercial, should learn at least one foreign language, and for many reasons, I think that universal language should be French. If such a boy proved dull at French I would nevertheless keep him at it all his school days, so that when he left me he should at least have got beyond the rudiments of some foreign language. If he proved bright at French I would put him on to another language; Latin if he desired a liberal education, German if his aspirations were commercial. And I would have a small and select body—three classes at most, unless the school were very large—a body of Grecians, all industrious and gifted, who would be put on rapidly in Greek and Latin and get the full benefit of a classical education without being

impeded by the dullards. Such boys under such circumstances would learn more Latin and Greek in four years than most of us did in ten; and it would probably be found that their other studies did not suffer. The classical scholarships at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge would be prizes, to which such boys could aspire. By this means we should keep alight the torch of classical learning, scholarship, and education, without interfering with the utilitarian ends and desires of modern parents. No boy would be forced to learn Latin or Greek unless his parents wished it.

If this were done, the chief part of most great schools would be a modern side. On this side science (including the chief part of geography) and mathematics would have their appropriate places, which I do not propose to allot, and English (including English history) would be thoroughly taught throughout by the medium of the English classics, and otherwise. French and German would represent that part of culture which can only be developed through foreign language and literature. How far can French and German be made to supply that sort of training which Greek and Latin have given, and still give, to the best schoolboys on our great classical sides? I should be glad to learn that any serious attempt was being generally made to attain this ideal, but I believe that the domination of the direct method and the study of phonetics have tended to put this objective out of sight and to push aside written translation, written

composition, and the study of a considerable body of masterpieces. I am not a schoolmaster, and I should not be entitled, even if I were inclined, to say anything against the direct method of teaching modern languages. But I think a point must be reached in the secondary school at which the literary study of the language becomes more important than the oral. From this point onwards more use might be made of French and German as instruments of liberal education than is now the case.

Let us take the various points in order. To begin with, French has an advantage which neither Greek nor Latin have. French *diction* has been developed into a fine art. It has its professors, whose methods I know from experience to be admirable. We know exactly how French ought to be pronounced. I, you, or they, may not be able to do it aright, but it is agreed how it should be done. It is pronounced with the utmost accuracy both in its consonants and its vowels. No consonant is slurred; every vowel is true and pure. English, on the other hand, is slurred and blurred; many of our consonants are half swallowed; many of our vowels are commonly pronounced as irregular diphthongs or degraded to a nondescript. I do not hope to alter the main characteristics of English pronunciation; and an English diction class would probably bring the schoolmaster into collision with many of the parents, who might find that the pronunciation learnt at home was

being condemned as vulgar or incorrect, and, in any case, would consider accurate enunciation to be pedantic and affected. But if boys were taught (very likely they are so taught in some schools) to give full value to French consonants and vowels, and made to practise until they had learnt to use in speech their lips and tongue and teeth, they would not only learn to pronounce French, they would not only learn the full beauty of French sonorities, but they would learn the principles of elocution, which would be of value to them should they become schoolmasters, professors, barristers, clergymen, actors, singers, or politicians. Moreover, they would approach the pronunciation of any new language with a knowledge of the points to be observed and a trained mechanism of speech. They would even unconsciously improve their pronunciation of English. German pronunciation might also be made a useful exercise, but it is not comparable in elegance and accuracy to French.

Now, unfortunately, Greek has not this advantage. We do not know the full beauty of Greek, because we do not know how it was pronounced. We cannot give it its true sonorities. We do not know how accent, stress, and quantity were reconciled. Greek is marvellously beautiful, even as we recite it. How much more beautiful it must have been in the mouth of a Greek actor or orator! The "new" pronunciation of Latin is nearer the mark than we can ever hope to get with Greek. But I doubt whether Cicero would understand a Professor of Phonetics speaking Latin.

Next, as to grammar. French grammar is a pretty study; but it is not comparable in difficulty to Greek or Latin grammar. All the more reason that it should be accurately learnt. Many of its processes are of great interest in relation to logic and thought. When I used to examine in French I used to be astonished at the grammatical inaccuracy even of good candidates. Few seemed to know that a French sentence as a rule can only mean one precise thing, and that attention to grammar will disclose what that precise thing must be.

German grammar is more troublesome. The accidence is very arbitrary, and can only be mastered by an effort of memory. But such efforts of memory should be made in youth. The time of youth is less valuable, and the verbal memory is at its best in youth. If French and German are taught in schools, they should be taught with full insistence upon grammatical accuracy. That is, among other things, a useful moral discipline.

There is no lack of masterpieces in French. French, especially modern French, has its lyrical poets, and some of them are hardly inferior to the Greeks. The English, in their pride of poetical wealth, are apt to look down upon French poetry. Such lack of perception can only be excused on the ground of ignorance. French prose is an incomparable instrument of lucid and brilliant expression. There is no lack of texts of the seventeenth century, of the eighteenth century, or

of the nineteenth. French is so easy to read that schoolboys might read a great many books. It is very undesirable that boys working at French and German should work through their texts so slowly as our Greek and Latin texts were taken in school. A few carefully chosen books should be read in school for systematic instruction in the niceties of language and expression. But schoolboys ought to learn to read French and German for pleasure. Grecian schoolboys learn to read Homer. I do not see why sixth-form schoolboys should not read Commines and selected essays of Montaigne. The French comedians offer, besides classical specimens of literature, a mirror of seventeenth century and eighteenth century life in France. In history, however, it is difficult to find texts so suitable for the illumination of schoolboys as Cæsar, Tacitus, Herodotus, Thucydides. The invention of printing has made our modern historians intolerably prolix. *νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασι ὅσῳ πλέον ἥμισυ παντός.* The Greek and Latin writers had to consider the value of the scribe's time. What modern work is so worthy of lineal study as Tacitus' *Germania*? I can think only of Bacon's *Henry VII*,[1] and the *Prince*.

[1] I was amused to find, in looking over some examination papers of London University, that this remark of mine was quoted side by side with another, which proclaimed Bacon's *Henry VII* untrustworthy as a work of history. The candidates were asked to choose between the two views. I see no opposition between them. I do not believe that Tacitus' *Germania* is a trustworthy work of history. It is worthy of lineal study because of its superb economy of words, and

In German masterpieces are more rare and less varied in character. At one time, when the Germans were proud to learn from the French, German prose looked as if it might develop into an artistic instrument. But that process of development ceased with Heine, and there are not many German writers who are accepted as classics, as Montaigne, Pascal, Molière, Racine, Boileau, Voltaire, Rousseau, and others, are accepted. Hardly any modern German writer carries on the classical tradition; it would be difficult to find one who has the classical and individual style of Flaubert, Maupassant, Anatole France. Still, there are plenty of German texts that no schoolboy need regret to have studied. And the German lyrics of the great period show what poetic genius can do, even with somewhat intractable material.

Translation from French into English cannot be made so valuable an exercise as translation from Latin or Greek. Good French prose is seldom difficult to an Englishman, unless perhaps in vocabulary, and we do not want our schoolboys to spend their energies in learning hard words. I do not think that there would be any advantage in racking their brains with Mallarmé. Not only is it the genius of French expression to be lucid, but the order of words in French is similar to that in English, the construction

because it is almost the only authority we have on the early Germans. Bacon's *Henry VII* I conceive to be also worthy of lineal study, not for its statements of historical fact, but as a storehouse of political wisdom. At any rate, I find it a fascinating work.

of the language is similar, and the syntactical methods are familiar to us. Still, there is room here for some exercise in style and accuracy. I once asked an acquaintance, who had obtained a first class in the Modern Languages Tripos at Cambridge and specialised in French, to translate an article written in French. Not only did the translation, when it arrived, contain many blunders, but it showed no attempt to render the original into elegant and idiomatic, even into printable, English. It required to be rewritten. This seems to show in the Modern Languages Tripos neglect of one of the most important sides of language study.

Translation from the German is more difficult, and, owing to the structure of the German language, it affords a more valuable exercise than translation from the French.

Translation into French is a very charming and tantalising game; it can be made as difficult as any one cares to make it. I think schoolboys might well spend a good deal of time in practising it. After they had attained some proficiency they might be trained in extempore translation. Such a language can be learnt more rapidly than Greek and Latin, and its study can, with most boys, be carried much further. This advantage should be made profitable.

Translation into German is necessary for the learning of German. I cannot imagine any one practising it except from sheer necessity. But it is not undesirable that schoolboys should have some disagreeable tasks. They should be

warned, however, to be on their guard against introducing German methods of expression into their English style.

After much reflexion I do not think that schoolboys are ever likely, from the study of French texts or German texts, to obtain the kind of familiarity with the life of foreign nations that we used to get from reading Greek and Latin. There are no French books—at least, none of manageable dimensions—that throw such light on the life of France as Cæsar, Tacitus, Livy, Juvenal, and the speeches and letters of Cicero, throw upon Roman life; none that are so well worth study from this point of view as Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristophanes, and the speeches of Demosthenes. One reason for this is that French literature has always been, for the most part, divorced from politics. Horace and La Fontaine have many similarities; but Horace is a mine of definite political and historical allusion; not so La Fontaine. French memoirs are not, for the most part, literature, and if they were you could not put schoolboys through a course of them; they are too lengthy. Commines is an exception, but he is only suitable for the very advanced—schoolmasters as well as schoolboys. The history and the antiquities are too difficult. Montesquieu and Rousseau are only theorists, and not very good theorists at that. I think this difficulty would be got over by teaching boys with their books the dramatic and fascinating history of France. While reading Molière and Boileau they might learn the history of Louis XIV, with

explanatory retrospects. But, whatever the difficulties, if French is to take the place of Greek or Latin in our schools, it cannot be enough that the boys or the girls should only learn French language. They must learn something of France, of French literature, French history, French institutions, French customs, French manners; otherwise they will have missed one-half of the benefit that we got from learning Greek and Latin. If anything is essentially learning and cannot possibly by itself become knowledge, it is the learning of a language.

For many boys more can be done by means of the modern languages than by the classics. This is another case in which the half may be better than the whole. We few, we happy few, learnt many things which are a priceless possession. But many of our stupid friends, and many of our idle friends—some of them have since proved that they are, in fact, neither idle nor stupid—learnt but little. Let us take, then, for the humane studies, as a rule, not less than half the time, in school and out; let us leave to mathematics, science, and the allied studies, the other half. For the Grecians we might poach a little on that half. Of the humane half let us take one-third for English. That leaves eight hours a week, or perhaps a little more—of school time—to be devoted to foreign languages. Let the boy who is fit to learn but one language give all that time to French. Let the boy who is fit to learn French and German, or French and Latin,

or Greek and Latin, give all that time to those. But if any boy learns only French, let him learn that thoroughly. Let him learn to pronounce it, let him learn its grammar, let him read the French classics, let him translate French into English and English into French, let him learn something about France, her romantic history, and her gifted people. Dull as he may be, idle as he may wish to be, after five or six years given to French he will have learnt something that will widen his intellectual horizon, and develop his capacities where they most need development.

With German the problem is still more difficult. German literature begins, for our purposes, with Lessing, and, I am afraid, for our purposes we must say that it almost comes to an end with Heine. In that period many things happened in Germany, but we cannot say there was any history of Germany. The German nation was struggling to its political birth, but it had not yet achieved organic unity. All the same, let us work on the same lines. Let the boy who has been promoted to German give half the language-time to German and half to French. Let him learn to pronounce German according to the best school—the school of the German theatre; let him get its grammar into his bones, let him read the German classics; let him translate German into English, and English into German. Let him study German history from Frederick the Great to Bismarck. If he has time, let him be introduced to the history of the Holy Roman

Empire. But this history can hardly, at school, be illustrated by literature.

All this is complicated by the fact that if a parent wants his boy to learn French and German, he had better see that he learns them before he is ten; if possible, before he is eight. That is the time to learn languages orally, the time when Nature fits us to learn our own. But most parents cannot afford to have their children taught either or both languages in this way; and if any boy comes to my ideal school knowing French and German up to the standard of the lower fifth, as well may happen, I shall know what to do with him. I shall put him into the lower fifth for French and German. He may not understand all that he hears there, but he will not forget what he has learnt, and he can put the chief part of his work into English and the other studies. Or he may go into the lowest Grecian class, and start right off on Latin and Greek. Having learnt two foreign languages, he is probably the better fitted to learn others. But schools must be organised for the average, and it is not likely that for some long time to come more than a few boys or girls will learn French and German from their nurses and nursery governesses—to any real purpose.

I am an examiner, perhaps the Arch-Examiner; but I will not dispute that title with any one who thinks he has a better right to it. I was led to write this chapter by a practical problem which had been occupying my mind for many months.

In one of our examinations, which is intended to test the relative merits of boys at about the age when they leave the public schools, we have a higher grade examination in Greek, Latin, French, and German. Candidates may take any one, or any two of the languages in this grade; they are all of equal value; and we have to hold the balance even between them; that is by no means easy to do. The headmasters who are interested in Greek and Latin asked us to set a general paper such as classical candidates are ready to take, in Greek and Latin history, customs, literature, and institutions. This we could easily do in Latin and Greek, but if we did it for Latin and Greek we must also do it for French and German, otherwise the classical candidates would be at a disadvantage. Does any one think we could do it just now in French or German? If so, does any one think he can suggest a syllabus that would suit our purposes and also suit his school? I have considered many syllabuses; but I cannot think of any that would not drive our candidates from the schools to the crammers. But if education in French and German had been developed as classical education has been we should be able to do what we desire. Perhaps, ten years hence, we may be able to do it.

The modernists have been so eager to put forward the claims of the languages, which one might be led to think they had discovered, that they have almost forgotten the history and with

it the geography. Of course modern history and geography are taught at schools, but they are taught as separate subjects; they are not brought into close relation with the languages and the literature. Modernist education is a new thing. One should not, on the one hand, expect too much from the work of one generation, and on the other hand, the modernists cannot expect the best results so long as two sections of them are working in complete independence. The historians neglect language and literature, the linguists neglect history. When the historians and the linguists make common cause, and unite to make their separate learning contribute to the whole of knowledge, then modernist education will come into its own.

CHAPTER V

COMPULSORY GREEK AT THE UNIVERSITIES

All great things have enemies who hate them because they are great. All beautiful things have enemies who hate them because they are beautiful. All established things have enemies who hate them because they are established. The Greek language and literature have enemies for each of these reasons; but I do not think they need fear such enemies unless their friends attempt to maintain a monopoly which has become oppressive, unless ordinary well-meaning people find Greek blocking the way of their ordinary, praiseworthy, and legitimate business.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have each of them a School of humane letters based upon the ancient languages, in which language, history, literature are co-ordinated on sound principles elaborated through four centuries, in which also philosophy, law, politics, archæology, philology, and criticism, all find an appropriate place. I and those who think with me would regard it as a calamity if those great open-hearted schools were damaged or in any way discouraged. But each of those Universities has also Schools

of mathematics, natural science, modern languages, modern history, law, engineering, medicine. Many, perhaps most, of those who wish to follow any of these Schools find themselves held up and put to ransom, before they can begin the praiseworthy and legitimate business of studying anything from history to engineering, by janitors who, as the price of entry, demand that they shall acquire the rudiments of Greek. Here ordinary, legitimate, and praiseworthy business is hampered; here monopoly becomes oppressive. I conceive that any one who maintains these obstacles, who defends that monopoly, is inviting the enemy to attack the vital strongholds of humanistic education which we should spare no effort to preserve.

The Public Schools assert that they are forced, by the policy of the Universities, to keep up Greek for boys who are never likely to make any progress in that study. The Universities will tell you that they maintain their policy in order to preserve Greek and Latin from extinction in the schools. But there are other reasons, entirely natural and human, why schools and Universities alike should shrink from change. It is probable that a large proportion of masters in Public Schools were trained in classics and are better fitted to teach them than anything else. Only by degrees as fresh teachers come in can teaching be turned on to new lines. Education cannot be changed at a leap; our present education policy is conditioned by the policy of twenty and thirty years

ago. At the Universities, also, there are, no doubt, many vested interests bound up in the teaching and testing of Greek and Latin for lower examinations.

The Universities should consider their own best interests first; in order to protect the schools it is not necessary to hold them in fetters, or block the way of praiseworthy and legitimate business. Moreover, willing or unwilling, the schools are now moving fast; the old Universities run the risk of losing their control altogether. Again, by the constant introduction and development of new studies, the Universities are making it more and more difficult to maintain compulsory Greek. I have great sympathy with industries threatened with extinction by inevitable change or, as it is often called, progress. But there is no longer any question of preserving these vested interests intact. Give up compulsory Greek and compulsory Latin may be maintained for a considerable time. Maintain compulsory Greek and compulsory Latin may go with it; nay, even the higher studies connected with Greek and Latin may be imperilled.

I should be more willing to support compulsory Greek if I thought that the Greek required for the Littlego was worth anything to any one. But I do not believe that it is. I do not see how it can be. Many years ago I used to prepare pupils for the Littlego in Greek. I know what the attainments were then of candidates who qualified under my supervision. I had one candidate

to teach who did not know the Greek alphabet. We were reading Xenophon's *Œconomicus*, a long and rather troublesome book. He knew the book very well before he came to me, so I do not claim the discreditable credit of having defeated the examiners. He knew the words by sight, and he often knew what they meant. He knew the translation very well and could fit it more or less to the text. But when we came to the letter ψ, he would say, "What is this queer fountain-looking letter?" And, when we came to the word γεωργία, which occurs often, he never could get any nearer to its pronunciation than to say "Gegrewer." He passed, dear, cheerful soul, and I have no reason to believe that the examination was any easier then than it is now; probably the reverse. A headmaster, a classical man, a most veracious person, told me that clever mathematical or science boys could be taught enough Greek and Latin in two months to pass the Littlego, and that the real trouble was with boys who had been learning Greek and Latin all their lives. The case of the latter is far more to be deplored than that of the former.

It may be said: "If Greek for the Littlego is so easy as that, why make such a fuss about it?" I make to the defenders of compulsory Greek a present of that two-edged argument. I will only call attention to those boys who have been learning Greek and Latin all their lives, and cannot pass this contemptible examination. Such useless drudgery is not what Greek in the Littlego is intended to perpetuate, but this is what it does

perpetuate. Is there no other study in which these boys could better spend their time? If not, what are they doing at a higher grade school, what are they going to do at an University? Let us look at them with pity and pass on.

The reason why the Littlego Greek is of so little value is that it is an examination in set-books. It is possible to cram such books with the aid of a crib and a coach and pass without any real knowledge of the language. It may be laid down without hesitation that no one can, from the examiner's point of view, be said to know a language who cannot translate passages from it at sight. The fact that Cambridge cannot impose this test in Greek proves that they find themselves unable to require any Greek that is worth respect, although they cannot find it in their hearts to acknowledge that what is called Greek is a sham.

But it is not enough to be prepared to destroy, it is not enough to cry with the barbarians "Down with Greek!" Some one must have a policy, some one must have a better alternative to propose. All alternatives that I have hitherto seen are too elaborate. Let the Littlego be recognised as a pass examination qualifying for entry to an University course and we at once get a new and clear indication of the way in which it should be treated.

The range of subjects in this pass examination should be rigorously limited; thoroughness should be tested rather than width of scope; mental training should be the aim rather than learning.

There are three branches of education, each of which should have recognition in such a pass examination : language and letters, mathematics, and experimental science. The University should make up its mind what is the least it must require in each : remembering on the one hand that the student who studies science or mathematics will, as things are, leave literature behind him; and, on the other hand, that there are some distinguished minds which have no aptitude, some for letters, some for mathematics, some for science, some for two of them.

Any new scheme should have a purpose and a character of its own. Its purpose should be not to test the total results of the boy's school education; that is already done by the myriad school examinations; nor to take samples of those results at haphazard; that is otiose; but to test those crucial points in which a boy must not be allowed to be defective. Its character should be simplicity, moderation, and sincerity. We do not want to put the schools into fetters, to have tribes of boys working on uncongenial lines to satisfy our requirements. The tests which we apply should be few, but they should be real tests. For my own part I do not see that the University need require more than four things : English, one foreign language, mathematics, and elementary physics and chemistry.

Religious topics I avoid, to escape controversy; but I do not see why any person who is to live in this country or this empire should demand

to be ignorant of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the Authorised Version.

English is the most important of the four, and the whole expert world is coming to be of that opinion. English should be thoroughly tested, not only by an essay. And I would not forget handwriting and spelling. There is too little inducement nowadays for boys to learn to write a good hand. I do not overrate the importance of spelling, but there is nothing that produces a worse impression in ordinary life than bad spelling. An university degree should be a guarantee of tolerable writing and tolerable spelling. It is sometimes accepted as carrying such a guarantee, but that is only out of politeness.

Next comes language. There is a good deal to be said for compulsory Latin. Latin is still strong in the schools, and whether it is compulsory or not a great many will take it. If Latin is compulsory the language section is complete: other languages would be left for free enterprise. But I should prefer myself as an alternative to Latin either one modern language, translation and composition, or two modern languages, translation only. It would be easy to arrange that these tests should be at least as hard as the elementary Latin. It would be an immense advantage if many of our students entered the University able to read two modern languages easily. Composition, on the other hand, has a greater value as an exercise.

Mathematics we are all agreed about; they would comprise arithmetic, algebra, and geometry.

Experimental science introduces a different element into education, an element with which none should be unfamiliar. I fancy that science is not taught on some of our classical sides, but I suppose most people would admit that it ought to be.

It is possible that all these discussions may lose their importance if the Government succeed in establishing their secondary school leaving certificate or certificates for the whole of the United Kingdom. The difficulties are still very great. But, supposing that this policy were carried into effect, the University would still have to make provision for foreigners, for Colonials, for those who, for health or other reasons, had been unable to attend a secondary school.

Failing a leaving certificate, it may be said that this simplified Littlego makes no provision for all those branches of useful knowledge in which a boy should receive instruction—history, geography, elementary politics, for instance. I should leave all that to the schools. There is no history or geography in the Littlego at present, but those subjects are nevertheless taught in the schools. A pass examination in those subjects is not likely to improve the teaching; it is certain to hamper it. All these subjects lend themselves to cram; only on a very high standard can an examination in such subjects discount cram. It will be noticed that all the subjects left in the simplified Littlego which I have ventured to propose are subjects disadvantageous to cram.

There are some people who, despairing of reform from within, desire that Royal Commissions should be set up to reform the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. I think that the reform which they would get from without might be salutary; it would certainly be unpalatable. Like Nebuchadnezzar they would—

> "Say, as they munched the unaccustomed food,
> It may be wholesome, but it is not good."

Any reforms which the Universities need they are perfectly competent to carry out spontaneously. It will be time to impose reform from without when they have declined to do what is necessary themselves.

I have been told that I am the most dangerous enemy of classical education; that if I have my way the study of Greek and Latin will become extinct. I do not believe these dismal prognostications; and, so far as I myself am concerned, I observe that I have also been accused of wishing to make the public service a close preserve for classical scholars. Attacked on both sides, it seems probable that I have found my position near the true middle. At any rate, I feel convinced that the worst enemies of classical knowledge are those who still wish to force Greek and Latin down the throats of the unfit.

CHAPTER VI

A SCHOOL OF MODERN HUMANITIES

If modern humanistic studies are to take their proper place in the education of this country, they must receive not only full but enlightened recognition from the Universities. The Universities should provide the schools with masters thoroughly trained in English and in the languages which they propose to teach, and not only in the languages, but in the masterpieces of the literature and in the history which binds all together. But the University is not mainly or in the first place a training school for teachers; teachers are a by-product of the educational system. If the educational system is bad, the teachers will suffer from corresponding deficiencies. If the educational system is broad, stimulating, and illuminative, a generation of teachers will arise who are themselves wide-minded enthusiasts and will create a like enthusiasm in others. We need, therefore, in the Universities a School of modern humanities, combining careful and accurate study of the use of words with a wide and systematic study of history and a close and loving study of great literary masterpieces. And these three studies are not three but one. The language must

be learnt through the literature; the literature must be used to illuminate the history; the history must explain and give unity to the literature; and all together need the help of geography, and give it human worth.

That modern studies could serve as an effective instrument of liberal education I make no doubt. They already do so in an imperfect and fortuitous manner. But an unified course of humane study, based upon modern languages, modern history, modern literature, with excursions into politics, law, economics, and philosophy, is yet to seek, through all our Universities. The University which first establishes such a School will do a great service to liberal education; it will awaken the minds of many whose interests are dormant, whose talents are wasted; it will put new life into modern sides and modernist schools; it will provide a constant supply of well-trained teachers, and incidentally it will steal a march on its rivals.

A liberal education may be a vain and useless luxury, suitable only to those few among the idle rich who value its meretricious attractions. In this age of specialisation, in this age when studies take rank by their money-getting virtue, such an opinion is common enough. Or a liberal education may be the most potent of humanising and civilising agencies, needful for the statesman, the public servant, the administrator, the diplomatist, the professional man, and valuable also to the man of science, the engineer, the master of industry or commerce, if these are to

develop their highest potentialities, at any rate in their inner life. I trust there is no need to enquire which of these two opinions is held by my readers.

For generations past this country has been proud to possess a large class of enlightened men, interested in politics, literature, art, science, philosophy—not specialists alone, nor learned in any ordinary sense, but with minds open to every range of human activity. It is to the standard of this class that our daily and periodical Press has been created, which is superior to that of any other country. This class has been trained under the system of classical learning; if modern learning is to serve a like purpose in education, it should not set a lower standard of breadth and enlightenment.

The University is a place of learning, a place where learning is and should be pursued for its own sake. It is also a place of professional training, where men are or may be trained to be doctors, surgeons, engineers, lawyers, cultivators, schoolmasters, divines, etc. Professional training has always been part of university duty, though some persons may regard it with undeserved contempt. But the University is also, and I think it should be above all, a place of education. In the older Universities learning is sometimes in conflict with the ideal of education. The learned men, impressed beyond reason with the importance of their own subject, wish for a little educative playground of their own, a close garden to them-

selves, from which all extraneous studies should be excluded. Learning requires specialisation; and learned men are apt to lose that breadth of view, that comprehensive sympathy with kindred learning, which are needed if studies are to bear their full measure of fruit. A man may take many "subjects," but every subject will suffer if they are not made to interpret and strengthen each other. Education should not be sacrificed to learning. Such a sacrifice is not needed, even in the interests of learning.

In the new Universities professional studies are all important; neither their own resources nor the resources of their students permit a lavish supply of unremunerative accessories. And they hardly dare to lead students into paths which do not at once command a life-giving employment. I should be the last to blame those who only bow to the tyranny of circumstance. However, one way and another the ideal of a liberal education suffers, except in the Classical Schools, when the tradition of the universality of humane knowledge survives. It is the boast of Oxford that any and every piece of knowledge may be useful in Greats. But even the Classical men are sometimes jealous of modern studies. They and the historians should be our most cordial allies. We are all alike humanists; none of us, except by accident, can provide an immediate livelihood for our students; but we all, together, not in separation or antagonism, ought to provide education for a class which the nation can ill afford to do without.

In the University of Cambridge provision is made for modern studies (besides Science, Philosophy, Law, Economics, etc.) in two separate Schools—in the Historical Tripos, and in the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos. It is very rare for a man to go from one to the other. The teachers on one side hardly ever fortify the other. In the Historical Tripos no scholarly knowledge of any language is required; in the Modern Languages Tripos hardly any history except that of literature is taken into account. The study of history suffers in interest and illuminating force through the neglect of literature; the study of language and literature is a dead thing if separated from the general stream of human life.

A modernist School should be a school to form men for the world, not to form students and professional scholars for academic pursuits. Get your education right; get your men into the School; learning will then look after itself; the student of literature only needs a few books and a little leisure time; he needs no expensive equipment or endowment of research; the natural student, having once drunk of the fountain, will drink and drink again; the student against his bent will never rise to scholarship. The Cambridge School of Modern Languages started under a disadvantage; it was sneered at; men called it the new Courier Tripos; it was determined to falsify that reproach at any cost; it was resolved to be very serious and learned; hence, all this philology and medieval languages. Disraeli was

once present at a solemn feast, and his neighbour turned to him and whispered, "This is very dull." Disraeli replied, "It is intended to be dull." One might think that the founders of the Modern Languages Tripos intended it to be dull. It is difficult to make such matters dull. But anything can be made dull by conscientious effort.

The sections dealing with English are not compulsory; neither of them is attractive. "Outlines of English Literature"; what good are outlines of literature to any one? Let us study the texts, not commentaries and catalogues. "Questions on language, metre, literary history, and literary criticism." Are such questions all that the masterpieces of literature suggest? "Questions on the plays and poems of Shakespeare and their relations to the contemporary literature." What about their relations to the contemporary life? "Questions on the history of literary criticism." That is, questions on what people have said about what other people said about other people's books.

It would be my desire to abolish the English sections and substitute one section with two subjects—English history and English literature. A list of books, not in Wessex dialect, nor in Icelandic, nor in Mœso-Gothic, would be provided. These the candidates would be expected to read. About four papers would be set with an abundant choice of questions, and the questions should bring the subject matter of the books and the history into all kinds of obvious and some unexpected relations. English composition would

be tested by an essay, and also by the written answers to the papers. All candidates for the modern school of humane letters would be required to take the English section.

I need not trouble my readers with the regulations for the other sections of the Cambridge Tripos; they are, except the Russian section, all on the same lines—philological, antiquarian, critical, anything but historical—and I should wish them to be reformed on the same principles as the English section. The students of Russian are allowed to take a paper on Russian history instead of questions on old Russian books, grammar, metre, and literary history. This section is almost good; though there is nothing to show that the books are to be used to illustrate the history, or the history to illustrate the books.

Two things can be said about the Modern Languages Tripos: that the candidates probably learn the languages, and that they read certain great books as well as others that have no value except as curiosities. But the scheme is not as good as it could be made, and the students do not get one-half of the benefit they would get from a more liberal system. The result is that after thirty years this School, with all its complicated machinery, gives honours to less than seventy students a year, men and women. It should be the largest School in the University.

The Historical Tripos was not constructed with a view to dullness. It is therefore very attractive and its honours list is large. It is, however,

overburdened with matter, and bears upon it certain marks of an unfortunate youth. Dr. Stubbs wrote a text-book on English constitutional history. Dr. Cunningham wrote another on English economic history. It is a great convenience in a youthful school to have a good text-book, so Constitutional History and Economic History were made, and still continue to be, separate subjects in the Tripos. English history does not appear except in a footnote to constitutional history. I find no similar footnote to economic history, which goes on its lonely and independent path. It is time that these separate sections were cut, if not out of teaching, at any rate out of examining. There should be three or four papers on English history as a whole, including constitution, economics, literature, law; and a few appropriate masterpieces might be set for the students' private reading such as Bacon, Hobbes, Bolingbroke, and Burke have provided.

When the Historical School was started its leaders aspired to gather the harvest without going through the tedious interval of seed-time and growth. I remember the time when the staff was very weak, and four of its most eminent members were lecturing on political science, as it was called. We were told that history without political science had no fruit. I doubt the existence of political science; political knowledge is part of history; political wisdom should pervade all the teaching of all the teachers; political philosophy should come after, not before, the survey of the facts.

Many improvements have been made in the Historical Tripos since my time. I think I see a certain tendency to set first-rate works of literature as authorities where such are available. Machiavelli's *Prince* occurs more than once. Machiavelli is indeed almost an ideal text for historical study; and it is a great thing that young historians should be put to exercise their critical and constructive acumen on books that are worth reading for their own sake, instead of grinding at dull works that are only useful as repositories of information.

Is it too much to hope that some day in the First Part of the Historical Tripos there will be papers in translation and composition of modern languages? I should like to see the Historical Tripos and the Modern Languages Tripos combined, with abundant liberty of choice, so that students should follow their own tastes in this direction or that, provided always that language, literature, and history, were duly morticed each into the other. Failing that, more history in the Modern Language Tripos, more language and literature in the Historical Tripos, would provide a more liberal education and a better training. When you have a staff for each of two cognate Triposes, they should be available for interchange of services.

The case of Oxford is similar to that of Cambridge, except that the English School is separated entirely from that of Modern Languages. In the English School Anglo-Saxon and Middle-

English are compulsory. In the Modern Languages School we find the Gospel of St. Mark in Gothic, and the Althochdeutsches Lesebuch prescribed for all students of German; and the rest is to match. On the other hand, in both these Schools we find that candidates are expected to show some knowledge of history.

In the Oxford Historical School we find Constitutional History, as at Cambridge, in a watertight compartment by itself. On the other hand, English History, including literature, is treated in a broad and comprehensive manner. By tradition Political Science is at Oxford fortified by a study of the works of some of the great masters—Aristotle, Hobbes, and Maine are prescribed. In this form it is no doubt excellent. There used to be an admirable optional period; Italian History from about 1494 to about 1515 with Machiavelli, Guicciardini, da Porto, Commines, to be read in the originals. This has now apparently been dropped, and Cambridge has taken it up with slight modifications and a less insistence on the foreign languages. In such a subject, language, literature, history, and geography, complement and illuminate each other as they should. Modern languages have now been introduced.

Once more we come back to the Classics. Why do we value the best Classical education? Not because Latin and Greek are superior to all other languages; that would be an insufficient reason. Nor because the poets, the dramatists,

the orators, the historians, the philosophers of Greece and Rome were the greatest that the world has known. Shakespeare and Dante and Goethe, at least, are worthy to stand beside the best of them. Nor because of the excellent drill provided by Greek and Latin grammar and composition. We must not be slaves to the drill-sergeant, and drill can be provided in other ways. But our ancestors, the humanists of the Renaissance, were enthusiasts at once for language, literature, and history; they rejoiced to range the whole gamut of human life. They were lovers of literature, but they loved not the mere history and criticism of books, but the wisdom and humane lore that the books contain. They were lovers of history; they valued documentary evidence; but they cared more for the document that was also a book than for the mere storehouse of historical fact. That tradition survives in the best Classical School of to-day. It is a school of words, and words are worthy to be studied and reverenced; but it is also a school of history and of the best literature and philosophy. It is a school of learning, but humanity comes first. There may be pedantries, and undue emphasis of scholastic points; but the humanity shines through, and it is the whole humanity of man. And man two thousand years ago was much what man is now.

There are some who decry this School of ancient humanities because it is out of touch with modern life. Some like it the better because it is removed from the cant, the bitterness, the fallacies, of modern statement. But granted that this be a

drawback, let us nevertheless salute the great ideal, and strive to follow it in other and more modern fields. Let us value learning and scholarship, but not to the neglect of humane knowledge. Let us value history, but seek its illumination in the greatest minds of the past. We have not much time and we cannot afford to pore over bad books. Let us value language, but not as the botanist values his dried specimens, rather as the key to the mind of genius, and the soul of man. *Fatti non foste a viver come brutti, Ma per seguir virtute e conoscenza. Conoscenza* is good, but it is worth little without *virtute.* And *virtute,* which may be rendered as complete and excellent humanity, is the end of liberal and humane studies; if humanity does not gain in flexibility, sympathetic comprehension, and enlightenment, blame the pupil, blame the teacher, blame the system, but do not blame the studies.

CHAPTER VII

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH AT THE UNIVERSITIES

THERE are now, in this United Kingdom and in other English-speaking countries, a great number of Professors of the English language and of English literature. Not so very long ago there were none. Yet the art of writing English had been practised with some trifling success for many generations before the first professor appeared. This reflexion may serve to keep us humble, who belong to the teaching profession. One might hastily draw the inference that there is no necessity to teach English at all, at the Universities or elsewhere. But I do not think that inference would be safe. Things used to manage themselves in the old days. Now we have undertaken to manage things, and they no longer run alone. We must go on managing them, and manage them as well as we can. Some day, perhaps, we shall learn to manage them better than they used to manage themselves.

It would be hazardous for an amateur—and in this field I am but an amateur—to lay down lines of English teaching for those who have made it their life work. To mention one danger alone,

I cannot pretend to know what all of them are doing; still less, what all of them have done. The hasty critic might be silenced by one or other of these replies: "I have done that all my life"; "I have tried that and it failed." And yet it would not be safe to omit from the survey what is common practice; it is also sometimes worth while to repeat an unlucky experiment. From a more lowly position I can speak with less offence; let me try to put myself into the place of the freshman, and set forth as best I can the needs of his class, which, diverse as it may be in character, capacity, and preparation, is not so diverse in its needs. Teaching should be determined by the needs of the taught, and not by the propensities of the Professor.

The first need of every freshman, although he may not know it, is to learn to write English. It is easy to say that he ought to have learnt to write English at school. So he ought, and, by the efforts of the English Association, the number of those who come up to the University unable to turn one sentence or to put two together, has diminished and will no doubt further diminish. But it is always safe to bank on the imperfections of human nature, and on the shortcomings of human institutions. One may be certain that, until the Judgement Day shall come, or Universities cease to be, many undergraduates will enter the University imperfectly trained in the composition of their native tongue.

When I was a practising teacher, I used to take

the freshmen's essays. As I think my friend, Arthur Benson, has said, this is the most encouraging form of teaching that can fall to the lot of any man. It is not really teaching at all; it is a kind of maieutic, almost a magic. There was very little one could teach them. One could correct faults. One could point out ugly, incorrect, or awkward casts of phrase, one could chastise stock expressions and what Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch calls jargon, one could make suggestions as to order and arrangement of matter. In fact, one could find something to say if there was anything to criticise. But, very often, at the beginning there was next to nothing. The teaching of English may improve treatment; it cannot provide topics. But they soon found topics for themselves. The miracle of the young mind expanding under fresh conditions is always astonishing. Up to the very last I was filled with wonder at the changes a few weeks could produce. They taught themselves, of course, not I. Every one must, in fact, teach himself; all we can do is to give him an opportunity to learn; it is true, we can paralyse him, if we choose.

There would be some who came up well-skilled for their age in the art of expression; glib, self-confident, even brilliant. But every experienced university teacher will agree that there should be quite as much to do for these as for the others. There always was something to do for them up to the end. The art of writing English is no child's play; it is an art worth studying; that is to say, an art in which perfection is unattainable. The

better the student the more there is to criticise in his work. The teacher need not be afraid that the time will ever come for helpless, speechless approbation. If English essay palls—and it may —there are other ways of teaching the same thing. I shall not be satisfied until the teaching of English at our schools and Universities is as thorough and effective as the teaching of French in France.

If all the young men and women are to have their due every don should constitute himself a professor of English. Some of them have already done this; others will look contemptuous at the suggestion, others embarrassed. The contemptuous will continue to rejoice in their own magnificence; the embarrassed will find, if they try, that the task is not so hard as they imagine. They would not have reached their present eminence had they been innocent of the art of expression. They would not have been there, it is presumed, had they not some gift, some taste for teaching. There is no form of teaching more full of reward to the teacher, more necessary to the taught.

This kind of teaching fits in naturally with all the literary Schools, though I have reason to believe that it is often neglected where it seems most obvious. I came across one classical scholar, a schoolmaster, who said he could not teach English essay. I think his own education must have been neglected. But the necessity for such teaching is not confined to the literary departments. Even if a man specialises in

Mathematics or in Natural Science he cannot with impunity dismiss his English studies. Most men follow the sciences for education, or to fit them for a profession. Education without English is the wisdom of the dumb : it lacks the one thing that gives outward value to the whole. And what sort of professional training is that which has not made the man fit to put his meaning on paper so that others can grasp and respect it? A time will come even to the professed mathematician when mathematical symbols will not express what he has to say. Sir Thomas Clifford Allbutt has told us how his profession suffers from the deficient literary training of its entrants. I misdoubt the other technical professions would say the like if they found a voice. In the literary courses of instruction at the University other influences may make up for defect of training in English. In mathematics and science and the technical courses that is not so.

The power to write English is a possession in itself : it is also an assistance in business. A love of English literature may not be useful for business; but it is for life beyond rubies and pearls. There are probably many who can be trained to write decent English, who will never love a good book for its own sake. You can offer to such men good books; they will prefer the bad, or none at all—perhaps only one. I once knew an undergraduate who confided to me that he found it saved trouble always to read in one book. I enquired : What book? He replied, *Handley*

Cross. Now *Handley Cross* is a good book; but it is insufficient nutriment, when unvaried. It is useless to try coercion with such folk; their nature will defeat you. They are often lovable, trustworthy, and capable; the schoolmaster has already had his chance with them; where he has failed we are not likely to succeed. For them no provision need be made of bellettristic studies.

There are also those natural lovers of good books, for whom the libraries of the University are a wide-spread pleasure ground. They know the way; they need no guide. All they need is a friend with whom to speak of books; the wise, the fortunate Professor is he who can supply that need, who can draw a circle of such young men round himself.

But there is a large and indeterminate class of men and women, who have a vague, undeveloped taste for good books. There should always be a stirring and sympathetic Professor of English literature to catch some of these, and set them reading. At such popular work the men of learning smile a superior smile; such cheap successes are not for them. It is true that such students will rarely train into scholars; their labours will not benefit the world, they will not increase learning; but the mark of a civilised man is the use he makes of leisure, and no better use can be made of leisure than to read a good book. If you can implant the love of good books in a single mind you start a new centre of book-loving in the world. There is no more humanising influence. The children of these young men and women will

have the chance that is denied to so many, the chance that is worth all the teachers in the world—a home where books are treated as friends, and introduced in their turn to the children of the house. The humbler the position where this love of books arises, the greater its value for life. If you have horses, shooting, motor-cars, travelling, golf, you may be able to do without books; but, if you have none of these things, a single book can serve to extend the horizon of life—too narrow for us all.

The teaching of English ought to be all-pervading in an University. All should learn there to say what they mean in workmanlike fashion. Some should learn the pride of an artist in good work. Many should acquire there and fix in their hearts for ever the love of good books; by this I mean first the love of English books, for English books are the most accessible to us and inferior to none; but the love of English books leads on to other books in other languages; and the book-lover will seldom be a bad scholar. He will also learn to use a book as an instrument of knowledge; and those who have learned that have broken half the path to any study, permanent or temporary.

Hitherto I have been trying to set down what young men and women need from the University apart from their special studies; composition for business, reading for life. That all should get these, from an imperfect institution, is too much to expect; that many should get both is what we have to work for. But now I approach the

specialised university studies, whose number increases day by day. In my own University an Honours degree can be taken in the following subjects separately: Classics, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Philosophy, Law, History, Modern Languages, Engineering, Economics, Theology, and Oriental Languages. Mathematicians have a language of their own; the more reason that they should return from time to time and commune with their fellows and their great ancestry in the language which unites our race. It is a great thing to make discoveries in natural science, inventions in engineering; but, if the man of science wishes to make his discoveries and inventions known, if he wishes to pass on the torch to others, he must be able to speak and to write so as to command attention. The medical man, the surgeon, is not only a man of learning, a practitioner; he has also to be a man of the world; and the world is swayed by words. The lawyer has to be an expert in the use and meaning of words; any academic drilling, however severe, that he may receive at the University, will tend to fit him for his professional career. He will also have to know men; men are not to be learnt either from laws or books, or both, but more knowledge of men is to be obtained by a study of the great writers, than by a study of the law alone. The efficacy, the currency, of philosophy and economics are greatly impaired by the jargon with which many modern economists and philosophers choose to disfigure their pages. Plato was no superficial trifler with philosophy; yet he said

all he had to say in the ordinary language of his day. Adam Smith was no mean economist, yet he found no need for an esoteric vocabulary. How different from some I could name! For theologians I am sure English is useful; it should also be useful to students of oriental languages.

In dealing with these subjects I have confined myself to a statement of the needs of all students. Those needs, whether for business or life, include lucidity in the teacher, and powers of self-expression for the students.

I now come to the three great literary Schools, which in some form or other exist in almost all our Universities: the Classical School, the History School, the School of Modern Languages and Literature from which the English School may or may not be separated.

In these Schools, I take it, the students may be divided into two classes, according to their different needs. There are some who, having received from early childhood a methodical, continuous, and thorough education, require and deserve from the University the best, the most coherent, the most extended, the most enlightened conclusion and consummation to their training by way of letters. Their framework of humane knowledge is ready. They come to us to complete the edifice. For them provision must be made.

And then there is also, especially in our newer Universities, a considerable class, eager for knowledge and illumination, but less completely

equipped at the outset of their University career. For them a similar provision is suitable; but the range of studies cannot be so wide.

In old days it used to be the fashion to read the Bible. The man who knew one book thoroughly, and that book the Bible, had no contemptible education. The Bible contains, in the most noble and purest language, a complete literature, a complete picture of national and individual life. Legend and history, poetry, drama, rhetoric, philosophy, law, geography, human nature, all are there. And with them a hope, a vision, a plan of life. Even the secondary authors have been inspired; somewhere in the range from John Bunyan through Hooker and Jeremy Taylor to John Henry Newman very diverse minds will find congenial instruction. But, putting exegesis aside, it is partly because we have stopped reading our Bible that many modern educational devices are needed.

The comprehensive unity of Bible study is also to be found in a good Classical School. The study of language and of the art of expression, poetry, tragedy, comedy, oratory, history, law, philosophy—all find a place in it. All there are studied, not in text-books, but in the works of the great men. The range of profitable study is so accurately determined by a wise tradition that the restrictions of the examination are as harmless as may be.

But there is one defect in any and every Classical School: there is nothing modern in it,

not even any English literature. I think this defect is more apparent than real as regards English. Wherever the best traditions prevail in a Classical School, sufficient attention is paid to the niceties of English composition. Invention, order, proportion, construction, can be learned from classical models; though a little criticism will not come amiss. Classical scholars have for the most part acquired the love of good books; you will generally find them well-read in English literature. What they need from their teachers—and no doubt often get—is to be constantly reminded of the modern applications of their ancient studies, of modern parallels to their ancient authors. Some of our most distinguished Professors of English literature have been trained in a Classical School. I do not think there is need in any Classical School to make special provision for English literature. There is danger in submitting the delicate flowers of English literature to the methods of the lecture room, the schedules and tests of the examination room. If in any conditions English literature is being spontaneously studied, it is best to leave those conditions alone.

The History Schools in our Universities are for the most part very flourishing institutions. By their nature they must be Schools of English. Every student who aspires to success must have constant practice in writing essays on historical or theoretical subjects, in composing neat, well-arranged, well-expressed answers to questions. I find them wanting, however, in one respect.

They lay great stress on original authorities, and endeavour by their examinations to secure that students shall have practice in making use of contemporary material. But every author is an original authority for his own time. When there is an abundance of authors of the first rank, who are worth reading for their own sake and also for the information they contain, why not make use of these? I give a list of authors some of whose works ought, at an University, to be read alongside with English History and used as illustrative material—Chaucer, Shakespeare, Bacon, More, Hobbes, Dryden, Halifax, De Foe, Swift, Bolingbroke, Burke, Cobbett, Carlyle, Dickens, Thackeray. The list might be greatly extended, but these will serve as a sample. I dislike coercion as applied to English literature. But the least objectionable form of coercion is to tell the students to read the books, and intimate that they will be or may be examined on their subject-matter. Applied in this way, coercion may not lead to disgust, but may form a taste.

I hope some day to see a School of Modern History as comprehensive as the best Classical School, with language and literature as its two wings. But probably the men and women do not come up at present sufficiently well prepared in modern subjects. Meanwhile it seems reasonable that there should be two modern Schools: one historical, in which literature should not be ignored; one literary, in which history should not be ignored. In the literary School English language and literature will find its own place.

And now I come to that part of my subject which may appear to be most important, though I am not sure that it is. What do those students want who enter for an Honours School of English language and literature? What they think they want is one thing; what they need may be another; what the Professor desires to teach them may be a third.

I think such students have in their minds a vague, sometimes even a precise idea, that English literature is a great and glorious thing; they think that they would like to give their time of study to the masterpieces; they feel that by so doing they will achieve some knowledge of the race to which they were born, of its history and the thoughts on which that history is built. Are they far wrong in this idea? Can we better the conception which they have formed of their needs?

The exalted precedents of Oxford and Cambridge and London would lead us to believe that we may. Their Schools of English language and literature appear to be framed on the hypothesis that before the student is fit to appreciate the structure and harmonies of his own tongue, before he can rightly taste the works of art expressed in it, he must have gone through a training in language. It is assumed, it is perhaps a fair assumption, that he will not have received a thorough training in language before he comes up. Granted that he should have some drill in language, what language should be chosen as a medium for instruction? Should it be a language which opens a great modern literature, suitable

for comparison with his own? Should it be French, German, Italian, Spanish—or should it be Middle-English and Anglo-Saxon?

I think the question can be solved by the answer to another question. Is the interest of the average student who enters the English School principally philological, or is it literary, historical, humanistic? Is it archæological or is it modern? I think the question admits of only one answer; it is historical and modern, rather than archæological and philological.

If that is so, we may have to give the student something he does not exactly ask for; we may have to give him training in language. But we should open to him, at least, those languages which give him the richest return in history, literature, and modern knowledge. If the choice, to be made on those lines, lay between Middle-English and Anglo-Saxon, and say modern German, can there be any doubt how the choice would go?

I trust that I am not hostile to any form of learning, but I cannot bring myself to regard Middle-English and Anglo-Saxon as in any way necessary to an university course in English literature. I reckon such studies as post-graduate rather than pre-graduate.

If any student desires to take these early tongues, they will serve to give him the language training that he needs. I would not curb the zeal of those who wish to teach, of those who wish to learn. But I would compel no student to learn Middle-English or Anglo-Saxon. The students should be permitted to offer for their

language training Latin, French, German, Italian, or Spanish, one or more. A student who desires to study English literature does not want—he may want, but there is no conclusive reason why he should want—to study any English author earlier than Chaucer.

Again, the student of English and English literature does want, though he may not know it, some historical knowledge. The books are part of the history; the history is necessary to explain the books. But the history that he requires should be given in the form of history, the whole history—political, constitutional, economic, social, literary; and not in the form of isolated history of literature. Of all forms of history, the history of literature is most dumb to the uninstructed. If you have read the books, it may illuminate by criticism and comparison, and by explanation of progression, succession, innovation, and growth. But if you have not read the books, it is without depth and meaning.

I have no doubt the practice is better than the appearance. When I read in a syllabus that one subject is the outlines of English literature from 1350–1832, I do not see how a student can come before the examiners without cramming a text-book. When I study the examination paper, I see that he may, if he is fairly well-read in English literature. But I know enough of undergraduates to doubt whether the average student will take such a risk. Such a subject is an invitation to cram the text-book. You can never tell what may be set. The invitation will be accepted.

To supplement the knowledge derived from the direct study of the authors general history of England is required—methodical, comprehensive, not necessarily detailed. It might begin with Edward III, when our modern literature begins. It would press lightly on the period from Richard II to Elizabeth, when great works are scanty. From Elizabeth to the present day it would find little opportunity for rest. People say we are not a race of ideas and imagination. Let us be judged by our literature. They say we are not an artistic people. Let us be judged by our cathedrals, our churches, our mansions, our gardens, our villages, our furniture, our china, our portraits, our landscapes. Art working in matter may have had with us its sterile periods; just now we are too self-conscious to be creative; but art working in words has been continuously fertile from the time of Shakespeare and the Authorised Version. It is fertile to-day.

Thus the history of our nation and the history of its literature go hand in hand. The study of each will gain infinitely from the study of the other. There is hardly any historical theme that cannot be illustrated from the best writers of the time; hardly any writer who cannot be better understood if the history of his time is known. Our writers have often taken a part in politics; they have shared the full life of the nation. Mr. Wingfield-Stratford's *History of English Patriotism* is a good example of the worth to history of a wide outlook upon literature.

Of history, of connected, methodical historical

knowledge, the value to the student of literature appears so obvious that I wonder it can ever have been overlooked. An *ad hoc* excursion into history is the customary prelude to an edition of a literary work. But what is written or got up for a specific purpose is never so illuminating as knowledge which forms part of an assimilated whole. Separate, if you must, your literary School from your historical School; but the two should always live in the closest intimacy and alliance.

As mines and manufactures devastate the countryside, so do examination and the methods of teaching connected with it devastate the matter which they attack. Theological examination spoils the Bible, grammatical examination spoils Greek, physiological examination spoils the frog. Examination, like mines and manufacture, is necessary; but to examine in English literature is like opening a coal mine in the Lake District. Why is examination necessary? Examination is a form of *peine forte et dure*, to compel the recalcitrant to plead. Why not settle the matter out of court? There is the greatest literature in the world, written in your own tongue, why not read it, dispensing with examiners? There is something in it for every taste. We are a political race, a race of politicians, and the first-rate political works that have been written in English make up for themselves a sufficient student's library. It is rare for philosophers to cultivate the gift of expression—they are, no doubt, too busy thinking—but we have one philosopher at

least—Berkeley—who is worth reading for his English as well as for his thought. If you must have commentaries, there is a succession of accomplished critics. If you are fond of travel, you can steep your mind in good English, without leaving the company of great travellers. If your chief interest is in sport, there is a score of sportsmen who demonstrate that the horse, the gun, and the rod, are not jealous enemies of the pen, who prove that the man of intelligence having something in his heart to say will seldom fail to say it well. And if you do not want to read, why read at all? There are other things in life besides books. It is a pity to miss that joy, that illumination; but if you are sure it is not for you then leave it alone.

Where the door of a study is difficult to enter, some compulsion, no doubt, is necessary for the beginners. All of us are lazy, and beginnings are apt to be dull. But, once the student has learnt to read, the door of English literature stands wide open. He has but to walk in and help himself. Even expense is no obstacle to-day.

However, our freshman does not go to the University merely to follow his favourite study. He goes there to get the hall-mark of an university degree—he would like Honours, if he can get them; his ambition aspires to a class. That being so, examinations and all their machinery of schedule and syllabus are necessary. I have, for the purpose of this chapter, been looking over examination papers set in the English Schools of various Universities. Sometimes they seem to me de-

signed to test learning, rather than intelligence and knowledge. But on the whole they are framed with great delicacy and ingenuity. How much greater the field for the exercise of that ingenuity when history and literature offer their united permutations and combinations! An examination question should not call for recondite learning; it should handle the familiar in an unexpected way. It should set the student hastily to rebuild his old materials in a new shape. The better trained his intelligence, the greater his command of his subject, the more skilfully he will be able to effect the desired reconstruction. If there is historical material on the one hand, and literary material on the other, the range, interest, and variety of the problems that can be set without leaving well-trodden ground may be four times as great as when literature is separated from history.

That English literature should be widely studied at the University must be our desire. If it must be taught the object of the teaching should be to give the student something he needs but cannot get for himself. An accurate sense of the meaning and quality of words, a feeling for rhythm and flavour and association, those can be suggested to him. New outlooks and lines of progression, new affinities, contrasts, and comparisons—those can be put before him. But, above all, the kinetic unity of national life and thought and literary expression is a thing that he may miss, or only attain after painful

and fruitless wanderings. And that can only be made clear by the most skilled and inspiring teacher, if history, language, and literature are treated as various manifestations of a single spirit.

CHAPTER VIII

EXAMINATIONS

THE unquestioning belief in examinations that possessed our ancestors is passing away. Open competition for posts in the Civil Service still retains public confidence and favour, as giving an equal chance to all in proportion to the instruction they have received, the ability they own, the industry, perseverance, and force of will, that they have displayed. Examinations are not beloved but they are trusted. Equality of opportunity is an ideal, which corresponds to our ever unsatisfied yearning for justice, and in so far as competitive examinations secure equality of opportunity they merit the support that is somewhat blindly given. Opportunities are not, and never can be, equal; but examinations tend to remove one class of inequalities. The road cannot be made as smooth as a mirror; but some of the roughest obstacles can be removed. Nothing creates, or should create, a more pungent sense of injustice than public advancement without merit. The faith in examinations as a test of merit has at least this ground, that no suspicion has ever fallen on any class of public examinations in this country. Favour and all kinds of unjust discrimination have been con-

stantly excluded. The eyes of justice being always veiled, the justice dispensed by examiners must be purblind; but it is impersonal, equal, and impartial. Justice, blind or seeing, is so rare, that we should cherish it wherever it can be found.

The early reformers identified instruction with education. By testing the results of instruction they thought they were testing education. They multiplied examinations and thought that thereby they would improve education. At the most they improved instruction; but examinations not only concentrate undue attention upon the results of instruction; they are bad for the instruction itself. They prejudice in the first place the liberty of teaching and the liberty of learning. Every teacher differs from every other teacher; if you force a teacher to work on fixed lines you cramp the exercise of his special gifts. School differs from school; if you subject them all to the same tests, you establish an undesirable uniformity. Child differs from child; the examination test ignores diversity. Education is not identical with instruction; it is easy by examination to test instruction and the results of instruction; it is not possible so to test education. First secure that the candidates have had the desired education; it is then possible to ascertain by examination what profit has been drawn from the learning and instruction which is part, but only a part, of the education. But there should be no more examination than is

necessary. However good the examination, however wisely it be devised to test promise, ability, intelligence, rather than information and the power of unintelligent repetition, its effect on the mind must be burdensome, exacting, and depressing, except for those exceptional and light-hearted beings who take all tasks easily.

Large numbers increase the evil. If few are to be tested examination can be thoughtful and responsive to varying kinds of merit. Where large numbers are concerned, the methods of examination must become mechanical; marks must be awarded according to fixed canons; individual judgement on the work of several thousand candidates is impossible. Since there are many examining bodies the numbers with which each body has to deal are reduced; but other drawbacks arise; a multiple slavery is imposed upon those schools which, to suit the various needs of their students, have to prepare candidates for several different schemes.

We have all been saying these things for many years; they have now been enshrined in a report of the Advisory Committee of the Board of Education; so we need not say them any more. It is more important now to point out that examinations are a necessary evil. We can then go about our business and try to get good out of evil, which has been the most ordinary task of man, since Eve listened to the serpent.

The evil effects of examination—the mechanical and oppressive methods of instruction that it

encourages, the anxiety, the excitement, the undue stimulation that it creates—increase in inverse proportion to the age of the candidates. In the elementary schools these evils once were evident; they have been already diminished, perhaps to the limits of possible relief. The headmaster will, of course, examine his pupils from time to time to test their progress. That is a legitimate use of examination tests and in no way interferes with the liberty of teaching and learning. The inspector will occasionally examine each school, but rather for the purpose of testing the efficiency of the school in its own appointed work, than with the intention of trying each child by reference to an identical code. Through the relaxation of such trials, there may be some loss of thoroughness and severity of instruction, but what may have been lost in specific instruction has been gained in education under a more elastic system.

Before the age of sixteen examination should be reduced to a minimum. The headmaster's test of his pupils, the inspector's test of the school and of each class, should suffice; except for one purpose, the awarding of scholarships and free places in secondary or other intermediate schools. But this test should be so far as possible a test of fitness and desire to learn, rather than a hard-run race for a limited number of prizes. The headmaster, rather than any examiners, should be able to judge which of his scholars are fit to undergo secondary or technical instruction. The examination is only needed to correct aberrations of standard or of judgement—to check the school-

master's decisions. Without some such check we should make the schoolmasters control the future life of every girl and boy. Moreover, examination gives a chance to the child who is clever but idle and inattentive to school lessons. A schoolmaster might be tempted to forget that it is the clever children—rather than the docile—who repay cultivation. The tortoise once beat the hare, but as a rule the hare can afford to spend some time in sleep. The normal odds against the tortoise, however wakeful, must be very long. To continue in this vein of sporting analogies, competitive examination before sixteen is like racing two-year-olds; the colt or the filly may not actually suffer, but premature effort should be avoided; the course should be short and feather-weights should be up. Competitive examinations have much in common with the contests of the turf; except that there is no betting, and horses are not pulled.

The following points of policy seem now to be agreed, though I dare say when they come to be discussed some things may be said against them.

The first school-leaving certificate from secondary schools should be granted about sixteen. The examination for such a certificate should be a qualifying and not a competitive test. The certificate should be evidence of continuous and satisfactory attendance at efficient schools up to the time of testing; it should also affirm that the scholar had shown under examination

adequate proficiency in the ordinary subjects of instruction. Another school-leaving certificate should be granted to those who stay at school till eighteen or nineteen, on similar conditions.

If severe competition is avoided until the age of sixteen, the chief danger is past for boys, and greater pressure can be applied to the negligent, greater encouragement can be given to the willing. Girls require more careful treatment up to the age of nineteen at least. I see no objection to competitive examination of boys at the age of eighteen or nineteen, provided the proper course of education is not abandoned, provided the proper balance of studies is preserved. No doubt the competitive element in schooling has been exaggerated in the past; but some reforming societies seem to go too far in endeavouring to exclude all competition and rivalry. Education is a preparation for life, and life is a highly competitive pursuit. *αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων* is a motto for heroes; but most of us (who are not heroes) are prone to an easy belief that we are doing our best, unless we are stimulated by seeing that our fellows are doing better.

The chief competitive examinations at the higher school-leaving age are the entrance scholarship examinations at the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Those examinations are admirable in one way; the work of each competitor is studied thoughtfully for evidence of promise, as well as for performance; marks

may be given, but they do not govern the award; one College may discern merit which another has not seen. But they are in my opinion too highly specialised; it is not desirable that boys of seventeen should specialise in mathematics, in science, in history, to the exclusion of other subjects of general education. The higher school-leaving certificate, when established and fully valued, may correct this tendency, and secure a solid foundation for the specialists. A mathematician, for instance, or a boy who has studied science, ought to have formed some clear historical conceptions, and learnt some geography, and studied at least one foreign language; a classical boy should have made some way in mathematics and formed some notion of scientific methods; but it is not necessary that such boys should be able to pass a stiff examination in uncongenial subjects. To have studied a subject is often sufficient; it is not necessary to remember all one has learnt. The good mind retains what it needs, and discards the superfluous. The effects of the training, if it has been thorough, will never be lost. But all should be subjected alike to a thorough test in English.

Similarly an examination which deals with language alone (like some examinations for scholarships in Modern Languages) does not suffice to test the acquirements and the promise of boys at eighteen. Language is not an end in itself; it is the key to the mind of the wise, the symbol by which tradition is handed down. Any examination in language of boys leaving

school should test the use that such boys have made of their study; it should be a test in the literature and history that goes with the language.

I am not at all satisfied at present with some of our entrance scholarship examinations in history. A boy, who is going to study history to advantage at the University, needs above all the knowledge of two foreign languages. Historical fact, historical sequence, historical method, these he can study at the University. All that it is necessary to test at this age is historical intelligence and comprehension. For such a test a certain amount of knowledge must be assumed, but it need not be very extensive. Having examined in history a very great number of boys of seventeen and eighteen I can say with some certainty that boys of this age are capable of understanding history; it is possible to set them questions that test not only historical information but also historical insight—the capacity to understand the mutual causation of events, great men, peoples, customs, ideas, land-shapes, and climates.

It is also easy, too easy, for schoolboys to acquire a considerable mass of historical fact. But I would rather, at any time, have taken into my College a boy with good training in languages and literature and promise of historical comprehension, than a boy who had at his fingers' ends the whole historical sequence of several world periods.

Thus there is not much at eighteen to separate the historical student from the student of litera-

ture. Both should have had up to that age a similar training and should show similar knowledge. The difference between them is a difference of taste and bent which can be allowed to assert itself later. Language is of so great importance to the student of history, history of so great importance to the student of language, that these two classes of scholars need not be separated in schoolboy training or testing.

Coming to examinations at the University, I have said elsewhere what I have to say about matriculation tests. Other examinations at the University are either professional or educational. Professional examinations at the University should have a strong educational element. The German school training, with its greater duration and severity, may afford a sufficient groundwork for university specialisation. Our school training does not and cannot. Part of this groundwork should be supplied at the University. Moreover, a man cannot learn to be a lawyer, a doctor, an engineer, at the University. He can acquire at the University a sound scientific basis for his professional studies. This can be tested. The University should also strive to secure for him a sound training in the art of expression, and a wide outlook on adjoining branches of knowledge. The first of these, at least, should be tested; the other if possible. But at some time or other, preferably after leaving the University, he will have to serve an apprenticeship in a lawyer's chambers, in an hospital, in engineering

works. How far the knowledge there acquired can be tested by examination, and by what methods, I leave to the experts.

In the educational subjects there should be a certain practical element. Those who study mathematics or natural science do not all study merely to improve their minds and widen their outlook; some of them, it is to be presumed, have a professional end which they seek. Such professional ends should be kept in view in teaching and examination, if these and similar studies are not to prove blind-alleys.

But, taking the educational studies in a block, they fall into two main groups, the exact sciences and the inexact sciences. Each group has its own drawbacks as a preparation for life. The exact sciences are those which deal with things; their method is a method of exact observation, weighing, measuring, counting, dissecting—analysis in all its forms. But life has many elements which cannot be measured or exactly analysed, but require to be estimated by judgement and imagination. The examination in exact science, to correct the effects of exclusive attention to things which can be proved, should endeavour to test imagination and synthetical comprehension. The mutual relations of the separate sciences (which are not really separate) should be continually brought under notice.

The inexact sciences, if I may so call them, are those which deal with man, his nature, his history, his social relations, and the words by

which he expresses or endeavours to express his mind. Here imagination, intuitive sympathy, and all kinds of intellectual short-cuts have their full scope. The results of such estimative processes can rarely be brought to a practical test; the more need in the inexact sciences to insist on accuracy and exactitude, wherever these qualities can be tested. Proof should be required wherever proof is possible; reasoning should be demanded, wherever reasoning can be applied; that very inexact instrument, the word, should be forced to take on so much accuracy and nicety as it will bear.

Exactitude is all important in life, but skilful guess-work is also needed in every art of life. In history exactitude is needed as a corrective; in science imagination and speculation should be encouraged. It is hardly too much to say that every scientific discovery begins with a guess, verified thereafter by experiment and further observation. In science there is yet one other danger; scientific authority, professing to be based on exact proof, is allowed to enjoy excessive prestige; when a grown man is learning he should be encouraged to test his authorities, however august, though not, of course, with undue levity. The dogmas of science are from time to time reminted, but they are often much worn before they are called in.

Studies may also be divided into abstract and concrete. The inexact sciences have their abstract section, which we call ethical, psychological,

economic, and political philosophy. The exact sciences have their own philosophy. Above all the sciences stands metaphysical philosophy.

The philosophical side of exact and inexact sciences should not be neglected in examination. But I have nothing to say about examination in philosophy by itself, except that from the examiners' point of view it makes no difference whether the examination be in Ancient or in Modern Philosophy; and that I should entirely mistrust an examination in philosophy of candidates who had not proved in other ways their knowledge of the human and material world about which we philosophise.

I say, once more, that examination cannot test education; it can only test the results of study and instruction. If a boy has been for a certain number of years at an efficient school you have a guarantee of education. If he has also lived in a good home you have a still better guarantee of education. The second cannot be entered on a certificate; the first can. Thus a leaving certificate, as designed, gives a proof of education as well as of the results of study and instruction. It is worth at least twice as much as a certificate granted on the results of examination alone. An university degree in like manner should be a certificate of residence in a teaching University, and should not be awarded merely on examination. I have great sympathy for the external students of London University who have in the past by examination obtained a degree without residence.

It is natural that they should be attached to the examining institution from which they have got so much. But now that teaching Universities are within the reach of the chief part of those who are competent to profit by their instruction, their tradition, and their atmosphere, university degrees should only be granted to students who have had an university education. It follows that degrees should not be refused on the ground of sex to those who have had an university education, and have passed the other tests.

A degree being in part a guarantee of university education, degree examinations should test knowledge rather than learning. Professors are men of learning, but they should not aspire to create men in their own image—to usurp the Divine prerogative. It is not the first business of a Professor to train other Professors; his first business is to train the young for life. If the training is right, he need not be anxious about the supply of Professors. If the undergraduate training is right, and the post-graduate training is right, the supply of the right sort of Professors will never be lacking.

A stiff examination is regarded with awe and admiration, especially by those who never could pass one. But an easy examination, with sound and thoughtful examiners, is a better test of knowledge and ability. The syllabus should comprise less than the students can fully assimilate; extraneous, or supererogatory knowledge will easily make its presence felt, and, with wise

examiners, will tell in the class list. The best students will always want to wander a little beyond the appointed path; if the syllabus is too exacting, the liberty of learning is curtailed.

I cannot speak of all examinations, but in those which I know best—historical examinations—questions should almost always contain some kind of problem or rider; if possible, an easy problem that has not been handled in the books. The knowledge tested should not go beyond that which a man of second-class stamp should possess. The first-class man will show himself by the ease and skill with which he moves in a field where he ought to be at home. If he is learned he can always show his learning on whatever questions may be set; examinations, however, are not to test learning, but sound knowledge and ability. It is hard work to set a good examination paper; none harder, that I know. The examiner should pass all his knowledge through his mind to discover new points of view, new associations. To create a new question means that you have found a new aspect of the obvious and familiar. But as a rule old questions can be given a new face. The examiner who tries to vary his papers by straying into new fields of fact will almost certainly set unfair questions; and unfair questions should never be set. Questions should always demand a little less learning than the second-class man need be expected to possess.

I feel sure, from observing the methods of the best examiners, that the same principles apply to examinations in law, and literature. Examina-

tions in language are always problem papers, unless the candidate knows the passages set for translation. In the Classical languages the well-read candidate knows most of the passages that can fairly be set. That is unlucky; memory is apt to become too important. I never knew how hard Juvenal was until a new passage was discovered, for which no commentary existed. Stock translations hold the field. *Sessilis obba* is well translated by "squab noggin," though "squat" is better; if a candidate gives "squab noggin" it is obvious that his memory is to be praised rather than his invention. He has lost a chance of doing better than Conington.

In modern languages, especially French, it is hard to find passages which are difficult without being recondite in vocabulary. But translation into French can be made by well-selected passages to present an abundance of crucial difficulties, that do not pass fair limits.

I am told that in the old Mathematical Tripos the problem method had been overdone. I bow to expert opinion; but, so far as my experience extends, I should always prefer the problem test to the bookwork test. To do the problems you must have some familiarity with the bookwork.

If the examination papers are well set, if they neither demand too much learning nor too little, if they are framed to test intelligence, then the question arises of marking. There are two methods of marking, by numbers, and by classes.

If the choice between these two methods is open, I unhesitatingly prefer the class mark with modifications; $\alpha +$, α, $\alpha -$, etc. And for this reason, that the examiner, in assigning an α or a β, or a δ, is forced to give a judgement on the paper as a whole. If numerical marks are adopted, the examiner, after marking each question in turn and adding up his total, is apt to think that his work is done. He is prone to regard his marks as the act of God; they must not be tampered with. If cross-examined as to why he gave a mark which does not seem to agree with his judgement, as expressed in his own words, he may say: "I don't know; the candidate is a good mark-getter" (or a bad mark-getter, as the case may be).

But it is his business to watch the marks, and see that the total, as well as the items, represents his deliberate judgement. If he does that, there is not much to choose between the two methods.

The rivalry between the two methods—of numerical marks and class-judgement—corresponds pretty closely to the rivalry between mechanical marking and impression marking which raged among Classical scholars many years ago. There were three fellows of St. Sophia's and three fellows of St. Michael's examining in a certain competition. The Sophites stood for "marks"; the Michaelites for "impression." St. Sophia's happened to bring out the scholars of their own College first: St. Michael's preferred the Michaelites; but that was an accident. The point is that differently considered the candidates came out in different order. I forget

how the matter was settled. But, unless the Sophites corrected their "marks" by "impression," I would *a priori* support the Michaelites.

It is very difficult to persuade people who are only accustomed to marks to consider impression as well. Though you may persuade them that they have brought out the candidates in the wrong order they will not regard the error as indicating any fault on their own part. It is difficult to bring home to those who are accustomed to produce numerical totals that their particular duty with regard to a class list is to put the candidates into three or four classes: in fact, to give a class-judgement on each candidate. It is also very difficult for those who are accustomed to marking by class-judgement to commute their class-judgements into numerical marks. And this is a real difficulty; for in class marks $\alpha =$ comes next to $\beta + +$. Yet $\alpha =$ means that first class quality appears in the paper and $\beta + +$ that second class quality alone is evident. There should be a fairly big numerical gap between them. This difficulty is met in practice (where examiners have to be fettered by rules) by allowing the assignment of marks up to a certain percentage for positive merit which does not receive recognition in the total of items.

I have said enough to show that marking in examinations is a very difficult thing; it is one of the inexact sciences; in fact, it is rather an art than a science. But only once in a wide experience have I met an examiner who brought the

candidates out in an order which conformed to no recognisable standard of merit. He was a man of great distinction; but he was never employed again by that examining body. However, personal equations vary. Yet the personal equation cannot be wholly discounted by appointing two examiners to examine every paper. If you have two examiners, they may mark on different scales; one may be a "flat-marker," that is, he does not bring out the due proportional difference between the best and the worst; the marks of the other may exhibit a normal curve. To average these two will not produce a satisfactory result: the marks of the "flat-marker" should first be "spread" by proportional increase and reduction. A "flat-marker" should always be mistrusted; he has no sound sense of proportion; he approaches the impartiality of the illustrious examiner who gave almost all his candidates $\beta -$, adding a query to his mark. If he cannot see the true scale difference between good and bad, it is doubtful whether he will rightly distinguish between candidates of more nearly equal merit. But, apart from differences of scale between two good examiners, if two examiners mark the work of a certain candidate, the one at forty, the other at ninety (which I have known to happen) justice is not done by splitting the difference. One of them is probably much more nearly right than the other; strict justice would require that a third opinion should be taken, unless the two after meeting can agree upon a mark. But the referee should at

least sample the work of the other candidates; you cannot mark one paper by itself. Marking is a relative, not an absolute judgement.

Arithmetic papers are easy to mark; history papers much more difficult; an English essay perhaps the hardest of all. But if I go on much longer I shall shake the faith of the public in numerical marks altogether. That I do not want to do. For in open competitions, where a number of subjects and different examiners are concerned, numerical marks are necessary, and they are probably as good a test of the kind of merit they are capable of testing as any other test that can be applied. They do not do absolute justice; but, if examiners are carefully chosen, and their work is tested from time to time, a very tolerable approximation may be obtained.

But one thing I should like to require: that every aspirant examiner should go to school with an expert and trustworthy old hand, who will teach him what kind of papers ought to be set, and how to appraise the results. Otherwise he will do a vast amount of damage before he learns this trade, and perhaps may never learn the art after all. I shudder to think of all the blunders I should have committed had I not early in life found myself in partnership with Mr. A. and Professor B. Examining is an art, and cannot be picked up by rule of thumb, unless you are prepared to spoil a great deal of good material. Experience teaches; but it is cheaper to learn from the experience of others. In examining you can have a good tradition, or a bad tradition.

Open competition leads to cramming, in various forms. One definition of cramming is instruction without education. However good the instruction, it loses fully half its value if it is not part of a well-devised scheme of education. For this reason I hope that some day, for the several competitions of the Civil Service, we may be able to require (according to circumstances) a first leaving certificate, a second leaving certificate, or an university degree as a condition of entry. Then we should have a guarantee of suitable education, and the results of the competitions would be much more trustworthy.

But in another sense cramming is forcing the boy or youth to acquire learning—not for its own sake, nor for purposes of education—but for the purposes of the examination. There must always be some cramming so long as competition is severe. If cramming by a crammer (instruction without education) is excluded, we shall still get cramming in the schools. If cramming only means hard work, I see no harm in that, after a certain age and with normal, healthy boys. But, if cramming means the acquisition of great masses of undigested information, that is the fault of the examination. Some subjects cannot be crammed in this sense. Mathematics, languages, English, cannot be crammed if the papers are properly constructed. History is more liable to be crammed; for this reason the papers should be cunningly drafted so as to require no more learning than can easily be carried, and to test as far as possible ability and compre-

hension. The same with Geography. English literature can hardly be crammed if the questions are based right down upon the texts, and not on the text-books or the commentaries.

I think *viva voce* examination should be introduced as far as possible into competitive examinations. When the numbers are great this is impossible : in any case it means a great expenditure of time and money. But it is worth while. Written examinations test the power of expression on paper. The power of expression by the spoken word is not less important. This we cannot test without an oral examination. In a competition where considerable choice of subjects is allowed the candidates should be examined orally in the subject of their choice, and also on topics which ought to be familiar to every candidate of that age and training. Two skilled examiners should be present throughout to conduct the general examination, and to keep a level standard in the various special examinations.

It is often said that *viva voce* examination is unfair, because some candidates suffer from nervousness. But some candidates suffer from nervousness in written examination, and never do themselves justice. I am inclined to think that self-possession under examination, oral or other, indicates qualities which should receive credit.

Practical competitive examinations in science present great difficulty. If the numbers are

great, they become impossible. If the numbers exceed a moderate total, all the candidates cannot be examined in the same room. It then becomes necessary to vary the problems, from session to session. And, however much care may be taken, it is impossible to be quite certain that all the problems set will be of equal difficulty. The chief object of including a practical examination in an open competition is to ensure that no candidate should get credit who had not received the requisite training in a laboratory. If this could be secured otherwise, I think the practical examination might be dispensed with. Questions could be set to test the competence of candidates in dealing with laboratory problems. It would not be a bad exercise or test to ask the candidate to state in words what he would do if he were asked to solve a certain problem in a laboratory with specified appliances.

Oral examinations in modern foreign languages are necessary. But if the numbers are very great they are impossible. The result is that the Civil Service Commissioners assign high marks for French and German in one competition at least, with no guarantee that the candidates can pronounce correctly any single word. I do not see how this can be avoided in existing circumstances. But I console myself by the reflexion that the same is true when we deal with Latin and Greek. Some day, however, we may find a way to defeat the dilemma. The Leaving Certificate may help us out of it.

Practical work in Mathematics—measuring

and so forth—bothers some of the old-fashioned teachers. Not an expert myself, I have been obliged to hear the arguments. I have no doubt that the practical work has it. Our staff had an acute controversy with an eminent Professor about arithmetical illustrations in certain questions of high mathematics. The Professor declared that arithmetic had nothing to do with mathematics. After hearing counsel on both sides, and the evidence of experts, we non-suited the Professor; it is, of course, a matter of opinion, but I hope we were right.

What do examinations test? I have said that they test the results of instruction and study: study is more important than instruction, though instruction is also important. But I will go a little further. They test industry and perseverance and readiness to think at the required moment. I also think they test ability if the papers are rightly constructed; though the kind of ability which they test is of little value, unless it be accompanied by certain qualities which examination cannot test. Some of those qualities are more likely to be present if methodical education has had its chance. That is the value of a leaving certificate or an university degree. It is true that a man who has never been to school or to an University may have received a better education than those who have. But such cases are exceptional; and we cannot legislate for exceptions. The man who has had such an excellent education is lucky enough; he

need not complain if he finds one or two drawbacks. Nor can the State expect to get all the best people for its posts. There is a trifling thing, the world outside the Civil Service, which also has great claims, great needs, and not insignificant opportunities for the meritorious.

Mr. P. J. Hartog, in an interesting paper, said examination could only test the power to do a definite thing, *e. g.* to do sums in Arithmetic, or write French prose. And I think he suggested that the powers which could be tested by examination were not in themselves of much importance. There is much truth in what he said. We conduct all sorts of technical examinations—for architects, surveyors, draughtsmen, engineers, book-keepers, etc. The examination papers look thoroughly business-like, but I would not rely upon the results unless I also knew that the candidates had had a thorough practical training. And even then the best man on paper might not be the best man at his job. But, whatever method of selection is adopted, you cannot avoid mistakes, and bad bargains. The candidates think that examination is fairer than personal selection, and I for one am not prepared to disagree with them; if among the qualities to be looked for are those which can be tested by examination. Where experience of definite work in the world is needed and candidates must be of mature age, personal selection by an impartial authority is the only way.

But there is one fundamental assumption which underlies all forms of open competition.

The assumption is that there is a substantial similarity among the candidates. If one candidate has had a methodical education, and another has been crammed, this assumption breaks down. I think that if women compete with men it also breaks down. Still more, if the candidates are of different race. If you had a competition in which Englishmen and Chinamen competed together, it might happen—I think it very likely would—that Chinamen would win all the places. That would be all right if the fundamental qualities required in the Service were those possessed as a rule by Chinamen. But if the qualities desired were those most common among Englishmen then it would be all wrong.

For this reason I dislike competitions between Orientals and Englishmen. The fundamental qualities are different. If Orientals are wanted, let them compete among themselves. If British are wanted, let them compete among themselves. I do not think the fundamental differences between Englishmen, Scotchmen, Welshmen, Irishmen, are sufficient seriously to disturb the results. Whether the differences between the Mohammedan races of India, the Bengali, the Sikhs, the Mahrathas, the Madrasi, are sufficient to vitiate a competition open to all India, I leave to experts. Such a competition would clearly be more sound than one which was open to all India, and the United Kingdom as well.

Some will regard examinations as inhuman and unpractical; others will regard them with favour

as bringing the best man to the front, without handicap from accidents of birth or influence. Neither of these views embodies the whole truth; each is in possession of a part of the truth. But, if we remember that examination is only a test of the results of study and instruction, that it is all important what that study and instruction has been, with what education it has been linked, then we see a line along which progress may be made. But the tribunal which is sufficiently wise and impartial to dispense altogether with examinations has not yet been made, and I see no likelihood that it will be speedily established.

CHAPTER IX

HISTORY

PERHAPS, if we were atoms ourselves, we should find that each atom was endowed with a different individuality. Then we should be unable to forecast with certainty the behaviour of other atoms, each by each or in the lump. It may be that the uniformity of nature, the certainty of physical law, illusions of human minds, are effects of distance. Or it may be that the caprice of human nature, the uncertainty of human action, the pleasing hazard of human affairs, disappear not only in the sight of God but in the sight of beings infinitely less remote. As seen by man, however, man is above all things diverse and incalculable; material nature as seen by man appears to obey fixed laws. The caprice of matter, the immutable laws of human conduct, are things which may exist, but have not been by us observed.

Human nature craves for certainty. Given a judgement, man elevates it into a precedent. Given a hint, he stiffens it to a rule. Given a principle, he kills it and calls its stuffed image a law. Given a wise man's teaching, he establishes a system. Granted a vision of the Eternal, he formulates an Athanasian orthodoxy.

But in the realm of human affairs not certainty but probability is king. Of two men of business, equal in courage, accuracy, industry, and knowledge, he who guesses best will succeed. The great leader may dazzle with his rhetoric, his logic, his wide information, but he convinces by confidence in his own speculative forecast. Analyse as we may the daring conjectures that have changed the world, after examining the processes of research, logic, and invention by which the trail was found, we still must acknowledge something beyond these, some flash of soul which lays the East at the feet of Alexander, opens a new world to Columbus, or reveals the cosmic laws to Newton. Man has a gift of guessing; the slave of certainty is an unprofitable servant, who lets his talent tarnish in a napkin.

Man cannot know mankind, by one or by many, as he can know the rhythm of the conic curves. But, for dealing with man, he has a gift of sympathetic intuition which may be cultivated or allowed to die. He can cultivate it by experience, by intercourse with his fellow-men, in the school, the playground, the market, the workshop, the law-court, the street, the committee-room, the meeting-hall. But our own experience, however wide, is too narrow if we can make it wider. We can widen it indefinitely by communion with the great minds of the dead and the living writers, by travelling the crowded and bustling ways of history. The knowledge of values, the sense of proportion, the power of speculative forecast, the gift of sympathetic intuition, are strengthened

by experience; history is vicarious experience; experience itself is history, our own history.

The man, still more the boy, who devotes himself exclusively to mathematics or natural science or both, gains in command of certainty; he loses in command of probability, in knowledge of man. What he gains may be worth more to him; but, whatever his gifts, his nature, his temperament, he loses something; what he loses is especially important in public and administrative life—knowledge that will assist his constructive imagination.

The man who deliberately sets out to exercise his power of guessing may find himself in the Bankruptcy Court. Those who pride themselves on sympathetic intuition are not always more wise; they are generally more tiresome. Self-consciousness hampers and stultifies all effort. But we can help the youth without stimulating his self-consciousness. We can put him to studies which will tend to develop those gifts, we can put him in an atmosphere in which such gifts are fostered. Or we can do the reverse.

The great achievements of the natural sciences have aroused in the humane sciences an unprofitable rivalry. The word science itself suggests methods appropriate to the natural sciences. When men speak of historical science, economic science, political science, they are, unless I misjudge them, claiming for their methods and their results an accuracy, a certainty, which is unattainable in those fields. In support of these claims they are apt to make parade with methodi-

cal and tedious disquisitions which should be kept in the background. If we spend too much time on the processes by which knowledge can be obtained, we omit to build our knowledge. If we are over-anxious to be certain about trifles, we lose the wider outlook, the greater illumination. The most instructive things that can be said about history, economics, politics, are things which have no universal validity, which show an aspect of truth but not its rounded whole, which assist the conclusions of wisdom, but do not determine them. For these reasons I prefer not to speak of historical, economic, political science, but of the learning, knowledge, wisdom, or philosophy, of history, economics, or politics—as the case may be. If the term science is used in such connexion let us be sure that by science we do not mean an exact science, but a science which is content with probability based on imperfect knowledge.

Aristotle, a wise man, was wont at a certain point of his argument to test his provisional conclusions by an appeal to *τὰ ἔνδοξα*—received opinions commending themselves to ordinary minds. Some of the doctrines of common sense are enshrined in proverbs; and it is well known that many proverbs can be found which other proverbs contradict. Each proverb in the several pairs enshrines an aspect of practical wisdom. The same is true of general historical propositions : they may be true, they are never the whole truth; positive and negative, they may both be true. History repeats itself—history never re-

peats itself; history is made by great men—history is made by the silent masses; war is the test-stone of human endeavour, the school of all the virtues—war is the great illusion; progress is from status to contract—progress is from contract to status. The doctrines of political economy were at first enunciated as if they possessed universal validity; the same doctrines have since been drafted anew with greater care as statements of tendency; but the error still prevails among economists of seeking mathematical certainty in human affairs.

I claim for history the half-whole of knowledge—the knowledge of man in the past and in the present—a knowledge in which outward fact alone can be certain, interpretation may be illuminating, but cannot be certain. The philosophies I leave outside; they are modes of thought, dealing now with natural knowledge, now with humane knowledge, now with things beyond our knowledge; only when they claim to influence conduct they come within the sphere of history, and their conclusions must be judged in the court of history. What is false in history can never be true in ethics, psychology, economics, or politics.

By the individual, knowledge may be pursued for a practical end—as an engineer learns mathematics—or it may be pursued for its own sake. In education rewards, punishments, the desire of approbation, the desire of self-advancement, are useful as incentives. But the study of history cannot attain its fruit without the desire to know

and understand what has been and what is. The man who reads history to improve his mind is like the man who eats his dinner because it is good for him—there is something wrong with the meal or something wrong with the man. Brilliant writing, dramatic statement, personal anecdote, political application, are sauces, good or bad; but plain cooking should suffice for appetite. History is always interesting unless it is made dull by dull people. But different history is interesting at different grades of mental development.

Seeley said: "I do not attempt to make history interesting; if a man does not find history interesting, I do not alter the history; I try to alter him." The statement is striking, but not complete in truth. No one, I should say, ever tried less than Seeley to alter his pupils. He approached them with the conviction that what he had to say was interesting; his exposition was admirable in its economy of fact, its luminous interpretation; many who never knew before what history was were captivated. The public was hit by his *Expansion of England;* yet I doubt if he knew that he was writing a popular work. It is true that he did not try to alter history; but not being a dull man, nor adhering to a dull convention, he impressed it with his own mark. History is interesting; it is therefore not necessary to make it interesting; but it is quite easy to make it dull; as you can spoil good food in the cooking.

The State, however, should need to be con-

vinced, not only that history is interesting but that it is useful, before public money is spent upon it. Art for art's sake, knowledge for the sake of knowledge, research for the sake of research, these are mottoes good enough for individuals who give their own time, their own money, their own lives. They do not justify a public grant; they do not justify institutions, endowments, salaries. Education in history can be justified by arguments; but I speak to a public already convinced, to a public that every day shows greater eagerness to learn of the present and the past. I need only point out that all the human things we teach—languages, literature, archaeology, art, anthropology, ethnology, economics, politics, law, sociology—all are affluents, tributaries of history, all find their meaning and their unity in history, in the knowledge of the quick and the dead. What is it to be parochial, provincial, insular, but to lack the wider view that history can give? Even a little knowledge of man is good; our widest knowledge of man is co-extensive with our knowledge of history.

Can history be taught? That depends upon the object of the teaching. You cannot teach a man to be a creative historian—*nascitur, non fit.* The greatest English historian of our time—Maitland—began as a mathematician, continued as a philosopher, worked as a practical lawyer. No one of these studies is specially appropriate to an historian. But his natural, his hereditary bent prevailed. The law spoke to him as a lawyer;

it spoke to him more clearly, more compellingly, as an historian. The law of to-day led him back to the beginnings of law in this country. The antiquities of law took new form when irradiated by his imagination. He did not think it a duty to be dull; he knew that humour and wit were given to illuminate a sober and laborious path. He made the dry bones live, the dead bones of Doomsday Book, of Bracton's Notes, of the Year Books. The sympathetic intuition of which I speak he possessed in the highest degree. It is the gift of history, it is the gift of the historian. I do not pretend that teaching can do much for a Maitland.

The true spirit of a researcher cannot be evoked by teaching; though it can be communicated by example. The technicalities of the trade can be taught; the business of the trade can be encouraged and fostered; we can thus breed hewers of wood and drawers of water, necessary folk. But for vivifying research broad foundations must be laid; it is a mistake to encourage research, as is done in Germany, before the foundations are completed.

If we pass to lower grades, it is lamentably easy to teach, to induce the acquisition, of the facts and commonplaces of history. We are inundated with text-books which tell us, not only what happened, but why it happened and what it meant. These things are learnt by heart and reproduced in examination papers. But where knowledge of fact or of conventional explanation outstrips the capacity to think, to interpret, to

understand, our instruction does harm rather than good. In no branch of study is there greater danger that learning may be mistaken for knowledge, that teaching may outrun intelligence. I am afraid that the university systems with their overloaded schedules, the entrance scholarships for specialists in history, almost all the examinations in history, tend to increase this danger. Examinations in history for boys under sixteen are not desirable; if they are necessary they should be quite different from those with which I am acquainted; but these, I presume, are designed to suit the teaching actually in fashion. Thus we get a vicious circle. The examinations cannot be altered because they must fit the teaching; the teaching cannot be altered because of the examinations.

How then should history be brought to the notice of boys under fourteen, boys under sixteen, boys under nineteen, and men at the University?

It will be clear to my readers that I draw no hard and fast line between history and literature. Both deal with the facts of the human soul, human nature, human life, human action. Both aim at interpreting man to man. History has a larger substratum of ascertained fact; but its value depends not only on the accuracy of its statements, but on the truth of its interpretation. The facts of literature are of a more generalised, sometimes of a more individual character, but they should be true, as true as those of history—true to life, and true to human nature; and the

gift of genius to man is a gift of interpretation and of insight. History, no more than literature, can afford to neglect the art of expression; however brilliant our discoveries, however illuminating the connexions we establish, however deep our wisdom, what we have to say loses its compelling, its illuminative force, if it is presented in a gloomy, uncouth, or catalogic form. What we seek in literature, what we seek from history, is knowledge of man. What history gives and literature does not, is a knowledge of man in his groups, his communities, his nations, which have a psychology as real as that of the individual—elusive in both cases, but none the less existent and perceptible. It is not true to say that a nation is merely the sum of its individual citizens; it would be as true to say that I am the sum of the molecules which compose my body. I read in this day's *Times* that " names and dates are the stock-in-trade of history." Not so : the stock-in-trade of history is an apperception of the unity and unities that explain the weltering chaos of human life. The names and dates are only headings in the stock-book, which do not by any means cover all the entries. The stock is more important than the inventory.

It is my contention that the teaching of history and the teaching of literature should go hand-in-hand, from first to last; that, here above all, the desire for knowledge is our greatest motive force, for every normal boy, every normal man, wants to know about his fellow-creatures. We should need no compulsion, beyond the need to fix the

volatile attention of the young when it wanders. History is interesting and we can rely upon its own compulsion, unless by some error we make it dull; and that we may do, not only by our own dullness, but by presenting things interesting in themselves to the wrong people or at the wrong time. History should be graded to suit the different ages.

History is a distillation of stories; stories are the raw material of history; is there any child that can resist a story?

Let us then begin with stories. History, legend, fable, fiction, everything that is suited to a child will serve our purpose. Kingsley's *Heroes*, Hawthorne's *Tanglewood* Tales, the *Arabian Nights*, Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*, stories from the Bible, stories from the *Odyssey*, stories from *Morte d'Arthur*,—everything of this kind will serve to make the child familiar with people—real or imaginary—living under conditions different from his own. I was told of a schoolmaster who taught the Norse Sagas "in order to give background for English composition." The practice is excellent; but the reason given is very professional. The schoolmaster meant the same thing that I mean; he wanted to stock the children's minds with imaginative figures, to extend their range of vision, their scope of interest, to enrich their poor horizon. He knew that by so doing he would improve their English composition; and so he would; his reason was not the best of reasons, but any reason will serve that leads to sound

practice; especially if it leads the children to read the stories for themselves.

Then let us come to stories more definitely historical; let them range over the widest field. David and Saul, Ahab and Elijah, Leonidas, the lays of Ancient Rome, Coriolanus, Regulus, King Alfred, Roland and Roncesvalles, Robin Hood, Becket, King Richard and Blondel, Henry V at Agincourt, Chevy Chase, the Princes in the Tower, the Armada, the adventures of Charles II, the Fire of London, the great Plague, stories of Nelson; these are only samples, there are hundreds of stories which might be told, each contributing something to "background."

Then to personal biographies, each giving a glimpse into great chapters of history: Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Mohammed, Charlemagne, Gregory VII, William the Conqueror, Saint Louis, Louis XI of France, Columbus, Cortes, Pizarro, Charles I, Cromwell, Peter the Great, Clive, Warren Hastings, Napoleon—again only samples. At each stage the historical setting of the personal details will need to be more full, more precise: but it is even more evident that geographical instruction must help to fill out the pictures. Indeed there is a large part of early historical instruction that can only be reached through geography.

When I say that history and geography should be taught together, the geographers are up in arms: they say: "You wish geography to be made a servant of history." On the contrary,

in the early stages, at least, I offer history as a servant of geography. I once set out to write a history for young children; I found myself forced to make it a geography; in that form its construction proved a fascinating task. The first thing that is necessary in history is to present to the child persons, historical or legendary heroes, living in conditions different from his own. To make those conditions real the geographical setting must at least be indicated. What is the story of David, of Jason, of Theseus, without some knowledge of Palestine, the Black Sea, Crete and the eastern Mediterranean? When we come to Alexander, Columbus, Napoleon, geographical conceptions become even more important. Above all the conception of a country must begin to emerge. It is easy to show a child France or Italy on the map. The conception of a country is in part a geographical conception; if it were not so, why should we tell in the history of England of cave-men, stone ages, bronze ages, none of which had any part in the history of Englishmen? But the conception of a country is not only geographical; it is also political, historical. There is no better way to give reality to the name of France or Italy or Britain when presented in a geographical lesson than to give a sketch of the history of those countries, as countries. They thus acquire an individuality, a personality, which will give life and interest to any geographical conceptions that may be grouped about them. I do not say that it is easy to give a sketch of the history of France or Italy which

will be intelligible and attractive to children. But I know that it can be done.

I would approach then the study of history with children up to about the age of twelve from two sides: by stories of persons involving more and more the history of communities, of peoples, of empires: thus the story of Napoleon can be made personal, but the conception of warring states cannot be excluded. On the other hand, it should be approached from the side of geography, introducing with the geographical description of a country a sketch of the story of that country; affixing to any place the striking events and monuments with which it is associated. As the flood of ignorance sinks let a few peaks emerge: if connexions and interrelations, the whole structure, are discovered later, so much the better; but each isolated discovery is an item to the good. I would have no dates up to this point, except a few round numbers: for instance, that the Norman Conquest was more than a thousand years after Christ, the discovery of America about fifteen hundred years after Christ. I doubt if numerical dates have any meaning to the majority of children. I once asked a Sunday-school boy: How long ago Our Lord had lived? He replied: "Forty days." To whom his companion: "No, you silly; more like forty year." Neither of these boys was feeble-minded, or ignorant as school children go.

I see no waste, indeed, I see great advantage, in telling the children many things that they will utterly forget; on that point I have already

stated my view; but I would not willingly tell them anything that they could not understand. Before they left the elementary school they ought to understand what a country, what a people, an army, a navy, a government, a city, a law-court, a law, a king, a parliament may be: not by precise definitions, which like the received definition of an island seldom square with the truth, but by hints and discussions and descriptions, and by encountering these concrete abstractions in the movements of history.

I put world-history before English History, mainly for two reasons: I desire to widen the range of interest so far as possible: I want to avoid all administrative detail; which is unintelligible to children who have no experience. I care nothing for completeness at this stage: connexions should be established, when it is possible; but it is impossible for children to form a fully-connected picture of English or any other history.

But from twelve to fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen, whichever may be the school leaving age, I should allow some more connected English History to appear in the course. Not the whole of English History; some parts I should pass over rapidly: a detailed knowledge of the Wars of the Roses is of no general value. It is enough if the children hear some of the picturesque detail, and know that there were such wars and how they cleared the ground. Britons, Romans, and Saxons, I would have treated very broadly; emphasising chiefly the building up of the people and the material

remains. Then (all this illustrated by architecture) William I, Henry II to John, Edward I, the French wars (chiefly strategical and tactical), Henry VIII (not the names of his wives, nor the liturgical and doctrinal aspects of the Reformation), Elizabeth, Charles I and Cromwell. And then the rest of the history (not constitutional, but the big imperial movements and the great social changes). Very little constitutional history, and no legal history. It is ridiculous that boys of under sixteen should be expected to know about the Five Mile Act, the Habeas Corpus Act, or the Sinking Fund: they cannot really understand Magna Charta or the Constitutions of Clarendon; it is enough for them to know that Magna Charta was the result of a quarrel between the King on the one hand, the Bishops and Barons on the other; that the quarrel with Becket arose out of the question whether the King could punish a priest. The treatment of this history will be different according as the pupils are to leave at fourteen or stay on to sixteen: in the latter case the extra time should chiefly be given to literature. But even under fourteen more important than any details of English history is the habit of reading good books for personal satisfaction.

After sixteen—all these dates are average and approximate: development varies greatly in individuals—the existing teaching and examining of English History is very good, at its best; let the best practice be studied and followed, not slavishly, but with understanding. But for examination purposes I should like to have

English History and Literature more closely linked. I must repeat my protests, recorded above, against specialisation in history at school, and against the teaching of French and German without the literature and history of France and Germany.

I do not accept the dictum of Professor Bury, that all history is equally important. All history was no doubt equally important to those who lived it, all history may be equally important to the student, but all history is not equally important in education, or equally illuminating to us, which is the same thing. History is more or less important as we can know it better or worse. The history of the Middle Ages is not, on the whole, so important as the history of Greece and Rome, because it is not so completely recorded or understood. As a corollary, history is important, if it is well backed by literature. Later Roman history is a fine university subject because of the constructive work that can be done with inscriptions, but it is not so illuminating as that of the later Republic or early Principate, because it is not so well backed by literature. History is important if the interests at stake are large. Thus, the battle of Salamis, the campaigns of Hannibal, the victory of Charles Martel, the defeat of Frederick Barbarossa in Italy, the campaign of Moscow, are turning points of human fortune. History is important if it extends our field of knowledge. Thus the discovery of a skull in Sussex, of a palace in Crete, of the Rosetta Stone, rank as events of the greatest historical

moment. Above all history is more or less important as it touches us more or less closely. Thus the history of Greece and Rome is far more important to us than the history of Russia. Without Greece and Rome we could not be what we are; we should be much what we are if Russia were a desert. I speak here of the past; I do not mean to suggest that the present history of Russia is not to us of great importance.

In teaching history at school we should devote more attention to the important periods as judged by these criteria; in selecting periods for study at the University we should look to the same standards of judgement.

With regard to the study of history at the University I have sufficiently expressed my views above as to the study of language and of literature in connexion with history. At the University the young man should begin to see history as a connected whole. He should travel through the predestined succession of the ages; he should learn the measure of our debt to Athens and to Rome; he should receive some clear conception of the construction, the system, and the demolition of Imperial Rome. He should traverse the dark winter and the seed-time of the Middle Ages, when the modern world was in germination. He should know how our modern Europe was framed, and when and how the Great Men lived and worked. All this should be laid before him in its broad organic unity till he feels European society and civilisation as a single living whole.

He should pass in like manner, but with closer inspection, through the history of our native islands. But his special study should be of certain periods in this and foreign countries when literary masterpieces were abundant. Athens in the time of Pericles and Plato; Rome in the late Republic and the early Empire; Italy from Dante to Ariosto; England in the times of Chaucer, of Shakespeare, of Milton, of Swift, and Steele; France from Louis XIV to the Revolution. He cannot, of course, study all the periods that are worth studying from this aspect, but he might well study two foreign periods and two English periods.

I deprecate from the point of view of education the separation of political, constitutional, economic, literary history. All these form one; and the young student can claim to have won his footing, to have done something to prepare himself for life, when he begins to perceive these several elements as distinct but intermingling manifestations of the one informing spirit. To estimate the various pressures and reactions, to interpret the movements of the forces that are disclosed, to understand the unity in multiplicity, the multiplicity in unity—that is the gift of history; and young men are well capable of receiving it.

But I have a little more to say about what I regard as the political science heresy and the economic heresy; two heresies particularly rife at my own University, but not unknown elsewhere.

Aristotle regarded young men as unfit to learn

moral philosophy. I do not remember that he gave his reasons; no doubt he considered that they lacked the requisite experience of life. I would go further, and say that very young men are unfit to learn political science, or political economy: partly because they have not the requisite knowledge of life, partly because they cannot have the requisite knowledge of history. To teach these subjects to schoolboys is monstrous; but I need say no more about it.

History is a fascinating subject to teach, but it is also a very troublesome and laborious subject to get up, and, after it has been got up, its exposition for purposes of teaching is or should be a quintessential product of distillation. Given a man well read in literature and history, advanced in years, a thinker, but not a trained historian, he may feel that he has something to say on the theory of politics and the State, but he may not feel called to expound a period, a course of history. Such a man will advertise a course of lectures on Political Science or Comparative Politics, whichever he chooses to call it. He will be quite at ease in dealing with the patriarchal and the matriarchal theory, with Greek and Roman constitutions; a fortunate convention will allow him to pass lightly over feudalism and the mediæval city—difficult ground; and he will be comfortable once more when he talks of modern constitutions. If he is a clever man what he says will be interesting to those who know a little less than he does, it will be curious to those who know a little more, but what about the freshman

who knows next to nothing at all? I submit that all this analysis, comparison, classification, and generalisation, is useless except to those who have independent knowledge of the matters under discussion. After their second year at the University I do not say that certain students may not derive profit and satisfaction from such lectures; but the rational process is to study the facts before you are told how to classify them. Political Science at the University has been in the past the happy hunting-ground of the amateur.

I am fortified in this position by consideration of the text-books. In my days Bluntschli was the text-book—a farrago of loose observation and ill-digested propositions, enlivened occasionally by such wisdom as this: "The State is male, the Church is female." So they are, in German; but, if the natural deductions from this physiological statement are followed out, they will not agree with history. Professor Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States, has written a better book, *The State*. But all the early part of his book to the end of the Greek matter is highly controversial and entirely unfit for dogmatic statement. Where he is on firmer ground the tissue of fact is so closely woven that it is unsuited for the instruction of youth—useful, however, as a repository of information, especially to those who only wish to refresh their memory. Seeley was an acute and luminous critic of history; his lectures contained just the suitable dose of apophthegmatic wisdom. But he was infected with the political science heresy: he was the

author of the saying that history without political science had no fruit; he is said to have claimed for political science the power of prediction. When he came to put down in a book his system of political science, we were all of us disappointed, though not all of us were surprised, that it did not amount to much.

Of all the lecturers on systematic politics Heinrich von Treitschke was, as I should guess, the most frank. His treatment of the subject was purely personal, and I do not think he would condescend to claim for it any scientific validity. His attitude towards theoretical politics is sufficiently indicated by his definition of the State as a juristic person. The State is no doubt a person in the eye of the law, but, if it is not more than that, it is plain that it has only an artificial, almost a nominal existence. But, as a personal avowal, his course on *Politik*, which I heard at Berlin, was full of interest. A massive, rough, harsh figure, stone-deaf, he mounted the chair and intoned in a monotonous sing-song words which he never heard himself and which no German could understand without practice. Yet he held a class of a hundred and fifty for his *Politik*, and his *Publica* drew classes of a thousand. His influence over the students was enormous. He was a great historian—Acton said that he could drive more horses abreast than any other—and everything he said had a rich background of history as well as a full admixture of personal animus and prejudice. He hated England—a fact of great moment—and elevated that hatred to a principle of *Politik*.

One day, enraged by some act of Sir Robert Morier, he came down and began: "Gentlemen, to these English we can apply the words of Goethe; Sie lispeln englisch wenn sie lügen." [1] Another time, discussing criteria of culture, he said: "The English point to their vast consumption of soap as a proof of their high grade of civilisation. But, gentlemen, why do they use so much soap? Because they are so dirty!" Speaking of colonies, he pointed out their importance to national trade and development, and concluded: "Gentlemen, the German empire is short of colonies. Holland has colonies. It is our natural destiny to absorb the Dutch into our *Reich*." Those lectures were afterwards published; I wonder if these passages are printed with them.

Political Science is one of two things: a summary—always somewhat distorted by condensation—of custom, law, and constitutions, that cannot be profitably studied by freshmen, at least, apart from the history to which they belong: or a statement of personal opinion. The latter may be illuminating; the former must be indigestible, and may be misleading. The value of either depends upon the previous knowledge of the recipient; I have never been able to understand how such nutriment could be thought suitable for freshmen or even for second-year men.

Acton desired to elevate history to be a court

[1] Goethe meant, that they whispered with the voice of angels when they lied: Treitschke, punning, that they spoke in English.

of moral judgements—quoting and misapplying the great line: Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht.[1] "Judge not, that ye be not judged," is a better motto for the historian. Wherever we meet men, in life, in fiction, in history, let us endeavour to understand them, let us follow them or reject their example; but do not let us aspire to judge them. History is better used to correct the scale of moral values which is in vogue to-day, than in passing judgement on the dead, whose acts we may ascertain but never their motives. Nor can I applaud his other great generalisation, that the progress of history is a progress towards liberty. It seems to me that liberty is primeval: the cave-man was—I presume—very free; order and reasonable authority are less ancient but not less salutary; progress consists in reconciling order with liberty.

But even the errors of a sincere and learned man are illuminating. The exposition of history gives opportunity for the propounding of such principles of historical and political wisdom as illustrate the matter in hand. Though they be not true, they may enshrine a half-truth. If Acton had shared the political science heresy, which he did not, he would have been tempted to elevate these personal opinions to the headstone of the corner; as an historian he kept them in their proper place.

[1] History is the tribunal by which the world is judged; *i. e.* men, causes, systems, nations, are tried in the court of history, by the issue of events. Not by the judgement of historians; which seems to be Acton's reading of the passage.

My case against economics in relation to history is similar but somewhat more extensive. I regard abstract economics as affording useful categories and useful lines of thought in dealing with historical fact past or present. Taken by themselves —without history—the propositions of abstract economics are unreal and misleading. I regard them as misleading, because, in attempting to explain the operations of economic forces, they appear to justify results which occur without any reference to justice; the "laws" of political economy have been used over and over again to defend abuses; we must accept the solar system with all its defects; we are not bound to accept the existing economic system. I regard it therefore as a mistake to offer such teaching to very young men who have not the knowledge of history, the knowledge of business, the knowledge of life, by which they could correct their impressions. That, however, is the affair of the economists. My friends, the historians at Cambridge, have happily shaken off the domination of the economists, which lay heavy upon them for many years.

But one effect of that domination remains, the isolation of economic history for purposes of teaching and examining. The separation of economic development from the general life of the nation I regard as false in teaching, and as involving a distortion of values. Not wealth itself is worth anything in history, but the use that has been made of wealth. For purposes of special study, for purposes of research, I admit that economic history may be profitably isolated; I should not

be backward to acknowledge that the total wisdom of history has thus been notably increased. But that our young men should be encouraged at the outset of their studies to concentrate attention on the wealth-history of the nation, without reference to all the other elements of national life, seems to me false in principle and false in method, unless by the other teaching and the scheme of examination the whole of history is afterwards brought once more together, and its vital unity restored.

I do not value history for its direct and concrete political applications. More bad politics have been justified by true history than by any other evidence, even by that of statistics. I prize it as a school of values, as correcting our standards of proportion, as supplying long reckonings for comparison with our ephemeral experience, as affording a means to the study of human nature, in great men, in little men, in crowds, in nations, and in races, as providing an exercise in the cautious examination of evidence. Though it can only afford its full wisdom to those who drink long and deep, and drink also at the fountain of the knowledge of life, still in every grade and every stage of education I conceive it has its proper use and worth—for life, rather than for business, though in business if its lessons are well learnt it may assist to a certain sanity of judgement.

If I appear to neglect the other illumination—that of Science—it is not because I do not value it, nor because it does not appeal to me, nor even because I have wholly missed it myself. I call

it the half-whole of knowledge, and such is my estimation. If I suggest that Science has an imperfect message, so also has History. Each is enfeebled if it ignores the other. On certain paths of life Science gives more light; on others History. But the adequate treatment of Science is not, I regret, for me. In speaking of History I have been bold enough.

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